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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH
IN THE
EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES.

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*TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST GERMAN EDITION, WITH
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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH.

LECTURE I

INTRODUCTION. — PLAN. — HERDER'S YOUTH DOWN TO HIS APPOINTMENT IN BÜCKEBURG.

We have traced the history of evangelical Protestantism beyond the middle of the eighteenth century; then parted with Lavater; and at the conclusion once more directed attention to Herder. We have thus introduced the period which, as the latest and newest, now remains to be considered. But, as every one may see, these two names are not sufficient for our purpose. Yet we may set these illustrious men,—Lavater and Herder,—as boundaries, as statues at the entrance of the garden through which we are about to wander. But it is not a garden after the old French style of Louis XIV.; still less is it the venerable grove which, by the aid of its luxuriant growth of lofty elms and beeches, throws its shade upon the monuments of the period of the Reformation. It is rather a garden whose vines are more intertwined, and is laid out in the modern, artistic manner,—a garden, indeed, in which many have lost their way. What was formerly dark and overgrown with bushes we now find open to the light; what was once firm has been broken up; and what seemed inaccessible has been made level. Nevertheless, there are many heights which have been reduced

to a plane in the wrong place; many of the earlier pleasure-grounds have been wantonly destroyed; many a fruitful tree has been felled; and many a harmless minstrel of the forest has been scared up and driven away. But, on the other hand, there are many beautiful plants which emit their fragrance from new flower-beds, beautiful forms that disclose their loveliness to our vision, and magnificent landscapes that open to us beauties hitherto unknown.

However, all this has not been brought to pass by the careful hand of an industrious gardener, or under the eye of a human, calculating architect, who was conscious of his aim from the outset. Vehement storms, quite beyond human control, have broken through the badly-kept enclosure, and have borne off what had been well nurtured. Volcanoes have sent forth their long-restrained fires, and the lava-stream has flowed over many a happy field. But there have come into play those healing forces which are as little within the grasp of human power as the destructive ones. Bright, fruitful sunbeams have announced the dawn of a new age, and a Higher Voice than that of man has called out of the chaos new creations, whose germ could scarcely have been imagined in the preceding centuries.

We enter upon the time of revolutions. But we have not merely in mind the French political revolution, which constitutes the crisis of later history, as the ecclesiastical Reformation in Germany was the turning point of the sixteenth century. But we have more particular reference to all those revolutions which occurred simultaneously, and yet not accidentally, in multiplied forms in the departments of philosophy, literature, education, religion, church and theology,—phenomena which have taken a deep hold upon the history of Protestantism, or rather constitute this history itself. And since we did not, in our earlier lectures, restrict ourselves to the church and religion in the narrower sense of those terms, but treated of literature, education, universal humanity, and civil and social phases, this enlargement is now doubly necessary, if we would have a living picture of the Protestantism of the eighteenth century. Whoever would comprehend the church of the

eighteenth century in connection with that of the nineteenth, must not regard it as shut in by stakes and walls that forbid his outward look; nor should he be blocked up by erecting such an enclosure himself. For then he would only meet with the somber ruins of fallen walls, or walk through a graveyard full of decay and dead men's bones, where he sees here and there a cross peering above the weeds, and a tombstone with an effaced inscription. He must take a much broader view. Far out beyond the fallen walls and ruins and dead men's bones, which lie scattered around in such profusion as to cause him frequent sighs, he must look with prophetic feeling at those temples where only the spirit of the age seems to operate, and which at first sight appear more heathen than Christian, and remind us more forcibly of the cheerful Grecian mind than of the Gothic forms of the Middle Ages. He must also listen to those voices which do not speak in pulpit-tones,—the voices of poets and philosophers, and of the improvers and illuminists of the world, in both a good and bad sense. Even the theater, otherwise far sundered from the church, now acquires great importance because of its influence upon the culture of the times. He must also walk through those places which, though they may not be so unlike the churchyard, yet help to form the great, broad court where God intended his church should stand in a bolder and freer style. Whoever would comprehend the religion and theology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries must also thoroughly understand the philosophy of this period, together with its conflicts, at least to such an extent as to form a clear conception of the most important theological questions. And he who would know how the divine has been conceived and appreciated by the human, must learn, first of all, the human element itself, and how it has expressed itself in art, customs, and language, and even in pleasures and social forms; and how, by its system of popular authorship, it has pushed its way toward the education of youth and the improvement of the masses.

The church was the organ of spiritual life in the centuries before and after the Reformation,—the sixteenth, seventeenth,

and a part of the former half of the eighteenth; so that the literature, art and customs of the nation must be considered, even from an ecclesiastical and theological standpoint, as largely the product of ecclesiastical life. The temporal and spiritual separated themselves from each other, and each pursued its own way undisturbed, as if the one were no advantage to the other. But their relation now underwent a most important change, which was of advantage to the temporal. This having come to pass, if the church and theology do not desire to be pushed aside as antiquated, they must consent to undergo a new intellectual development independently of the church, by means of a process of culture and humanity, so that they can again establish themselves upon one and the same old basis. But we do not mean that the religion and church of the later period were a mere product of recent culture,—a child of yesterday,—or that they must needs expect their regeneration from the stage, or the professor's chair, or poetry, or any system of philosophy.

No, the church of Christ is the same to-day that it has been ever since the days of its organization, and dates its charter from a far earlier century than the eighteenth, or any other century,—for we count our centuries from the very time of its beginning. Protestantism, too, as it is now and is yet to become, has long had its eye turned with fidelity toward the day of its rise; nor has it yet torn itself from the roots of its strength and existence. The names of Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, and Oecolampadius have to it the same pleasant sound to-day as during the heat of the first conflict. But the church, and especially the Protestant church in its present form and appointed method, and in its relations to the state and human institutions, has certainly acquired an appearance essentially different from what it possessed at that time. Or, rather, it must assume still another form if it would command the respect of coming generations; yet not by any external power, which it would find difficult to exercise, but by its real, spiritual superiority.

Evangelical, Protestant theology is not based upon this or that system of human philosophy, but upon the Divine Word

as laid down and contained once for all in the Holy Scriptures. But even this has its human side, its scientific form, its literary expression, and its fixed circle of ideas. What seemed all-important at one time recedes at another; the expression that was true in connection with other tendencies, is no more understood by another generation, which has grown up amid other circumstances. Indeed, it is held to be error if the understanding of it, and its accommodation to the new times, do not occur at the same time. And thus even religion undergoes a certain change with the general use of language. Idea and expression change; demonstration becomes different as soon as doubt acquires another form. Defensive weapons are shaped after offensive ones, and the position of the combatants may become such that a practiced eye can distinguish friend from foe at the first glance, and explain the numbers and positions of each army. But only he can have this broad, commanding view who is conversant with the scene of battle and all the surrounding territory. We can therefore place confidence in him alone who is acquainted with the religious conflicts of the times, and also the ground where they occurred. Hence, we see the necessity of including the history of the later philosophy and literature, of the new system of education, and of modern art and customs, in the history of the religious thinking of the century.

But there is another requisite for the execution of this task. Just in our day it has been openly said that Christianity and modern culture can no longer proceed in company; that the latter has outlived the former; that the Reformation has turned into revolution; that new Protestantism has borne the old to the grave; in fine, that a new day has dawned, before whose light all those phantoms that flitted out from the Middle Ages, and made the Reformers tremble, are doomed to disappear forever. Thus many are talking; but we may ask, in reply to them, whether these old phantoms would not be supplanted by a new and horrible ghost which will call itself the real spirit from a mere feeling of exclusive pride, and thus bring to mind Lichtenberg's old prophecy:

"Our times are destined to come to such a state of advancement that it will be as ridiculous to believe in a God as it now is to believe in ghosts; and then the age will progress to the highest point of refinement. Having reached the pinnacle, the opinion of the wise will once more undergo a change, and knowledge will pass through its last transformation. Then will come the end, when we will believe in ghosts alone; we shall become as God, knowing that all material being not only is, but can be, nothing else than a ghost. Then, for the first time, will the sweat of seriousness be dried upon every forehead, and the tears of earnest anticipation will be washed away for all time. Then there will be loud laughing among men; for reason will have perfected its work, humanity will have reached its goal, and a crown will adorn every brow." An uncomfortable prophecy, and yet it does not seem very far from its fulfillment.

Now if it were really true that, as those persons maintain, modern culture and Christianity do not aid each other, they who look upon Christianity in a serious light would be right in rejecting this culture,—philosophy and criticism, art and intellectual life,—as their sworn foe, and return to the old faith of their fathers and the contracted forms of ancestral customs. But they would be really justifiable in adopting this course only after taking a critical view of what is understood by modern culture. Yet we do not reproach him who is afraid of this impartial criticism, and withdraws to his indestructible faith. Still, we do not envy him. Examination is not every man's business, and is not necessary for the happiness of the individual. Therefore, some had better let it alone. But these persons are not justly entitled to a voice in condemning this culture and its relation to Christianity. He can only say: "It does not suit me; it might endanger my Christianity; I don't like it." Since there are others who appreciate its power, he dare not condemn it without acting blindly and unfeelingly, and, with all his Christianity, becoming unchristian himself. What is indigestible and injurious to one may thus be a necessity, and the very condition of growth and success, to another.

As I attempt the consideration of this last stage, I am doubly conscious of the difficulty of my undertaking. The more numerous the efforts of the times to lead it upon the field of intellectual inquiry, and to clearness and strength of religious and ecclesiastical consciousness, the more pains we shall have to take within the intellectual sphere if we would keep pace with the hastening age, follow the stream of thought, and derive a definite impression, and retain it firmly in the memory and heart, from these many and very varied forms. There are few, if any, events for us to record at present. Our business is with inner causes, whose conditions we must elaborate. We leave behind us the outward history of Protestantism, and the record of the persecutions and oppressions of our brethren of the faith in different countries. Having brought it down to the present period, nothing more is to be said on it. Everything is now concentrated in those inner conflicts on a few important ideas,—the very life-questions of these later times.

But these secret struggles are quite different from those of the preceding times. We find fewer great, living, and complete aspects than in the period of the Reformation, when the antagonisms lay clear and open, when men had to answer "yes" or "no", and when a mighty faith could remove mountains at the decisive moment. But since this faith has gone astray, both in itself and its ultimate grounds, we must consider faith, the grounds of faith, the sources of religious knowledge, the nature of religion and revelation, and the capacity of the human mind to perceive the divine. The antagonism between Protestantism and Catholicism, which we must always keep in view, disappears for a while before these other antagonisms which are manifested in magnified complications in the Protestant church. We shall often find ourselves drawn by a variety of definitions upon a slippery surface. We shall have to place ourselves in a method of thought, language, and opinion which is not equally easy to every one among us. But while I shall strive to avoid everything beyond the sphere of the common understanding, to keep in the distance every thing that belongs exclusively

to the schools and to speculation proper, and endeavor to give prominence to practical and religious interests, I shall yet not be able to avoid what may be dry and abstract, and to portray the chief philosophical tendencies of the times both in their outline and results. But I do it with hesitation, and a distrust of my own skill; for it is always difficult to make plain to the common apprehension of men that whose nature is purely scientific, and presupposes manifold previous definitions, and studies more or less learned. However, I shall not avoid my task. The circle of knowledge which a truly cultivated man of our times should know, or at least manifest an interest in, has greatly widened within a few years. What once seemed to engage the attention of professional theologians and philosophers is now discussed and examined by large social circles, and not merely as a subject of curiosity, but as an important question of the times, and a matter of vast concern to the inward man. And though our salvation does not exactly depend upon these discussions, yet that which is the condition of our salvation,—the inner quiet and contentment of the mind,—can be enjoyed by us in a large measure when, through our own endeavors, we gain complete possession of what wealth we have long been accustomed to consider was either totally concealed or the treasure of another.

But there is another view that enhances the difficulty of my enterprise. The nearer we approach the present the more are we drawn into the conflicts, through our own peculiar thinking, our sympathies, and our antipathies. Hence the greater danger of becoming a partisan. We cannot avoid pursuing one or the other phase with a decided preference, believing one of them to be the true and successful one, while our less favorable opinion of another may be owing to a defective knowledge of it. Here is the barrier which opposes the most honest efforts, and which the individual man finds it impossible to surmount. And here lies the great advantage of joint effort,—when we labor alone we are unsuccessful, but when in common we come out victorious. But the aim of my lectures is not so much to press upon others my own

convictions as to open up to your view a varied picture and many points of observation, by means of which each one can form his own opinion, and where each can pursue his line of thought farther, and approach the goal nearer, and perhaps more happily, than I am able to do. And if, during this course of lectures, I should find myself manifesting a sympathy with characters and opinions which are not at all my favorites, I shall not have failed altogether in my design. I shall also be grateful for every reminder which will cause me to reinvestigate my theme, and will push me out from personal preferences to a more comprehensive view. It is by a multiplicity of standpoints where we strive for the truth that we are enabled to attain the all-important one, taking it for granted that these standpoints can all be found within the circle of a plain comprehension of religious truth. In this way my lectures can become suggestive, instructive, and purifying to our sense of truth,—to the hearer as well as to myself.

The inner historical development of Protestantism in the closing decades of the eighteenth and the first of the nineteenth centuries, lies before us as the principal object of our attention. But just here we must ask, which shall we begin with? We have already said, that the church and history of the recent period, and especially the history of Protestantism, can only be comprehended by the aid of the contemporaneous history of philosophy, literature and education. The plainest method, accordingly, will be to begin with the last-named, and then trace out religion and the church in a strictly historical sense. But I fear that such a separation of materials is not in place just here; yet, since I have pursued a freer course in my former lectures, and relieved myself as far as possible from everything unnecessary, paying more particular attention to important events and remarkable persons, so must I adopt the same plan here.

We left off with Herder. But Herder was a man of such universal intellect that he belongs alike to the history of philosophy, literature, religion, the church, education, and learned theology. For his complete works bear the titles:

On Religion and Theology; On Philosophy and History; and On Polite Literature and Art. Let us therefore place his picture in the foreground, and direct our eye toward the meandering paths of the tangled garden of which we spoke. We shall easily find the way from Herder as a starting-point into the history of philosophy,—to Kant, Jacobi, Fichte, Schelling, and those later ones who did not stand in such intimate personal relations to him. Then we shall be led by him to his older and younger friends and contemporaries, to Hamann, Claudius, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, and all the writers who marked out a new life in that day, and who, in the great march of moral and intellectual culture, chose the path of literature and poetry. We have in Herder at once a man of the church, a preacher, a theologian, and an educator; and therefore, in connection with his history, we shall be able to examine those conflicting theological tendencies between which Herder was temporarily the mediator. The universal and the particular interest of our lectures,—literature and theology,—concentrate and cross each other in Herder, and thus bring us into a much nearer acquaintance with the man. But there is no person in whom all things center; nor can everything be compressed into a single portraiture of a human life. We shall be compelled to introduce at times foreign figures and groups. Yet we will make a beginning with this important character, without any further frame-work around our edifice.

John Gottfried Herder, the son of a poor chorister and teacher of girls, was born at Mohrungen, East Prussia, on the 25th of August, 1744. His father is represented as a strictly moral man, conscientious and prompt in the discharge of all his duties, benevolent through life, and of few words. But Herder seems to have inherited more of his mother's than his father's nature. There was something tender and sympathetic in his mother, which, together with her quick power of comprehension and her facility for calm, noiseless work, passed over into the son. She was a zealous Christian. Her spiritual guide, Pastor Trescho, testifies that she had very sound views of religious truth, yet without making much

pretension, and that she was one of the most attentive and deeply affected of all his hearers. The old spirit of domestic devotion and pious customs, just as we have found in the former times, reigned supreme in the family of the Herders. The day that had been spent in industry was every evening closed with the singing of a hymn, which made a deep and permanent impression upon Herder's mind. He often thought of it in later years with emotion and longing, and would go to his piano, and, in the stillness of the night, play pathetic tunes, accompanying them with singing again some of those old chorals. Such books as Arndt's True Christianity formed a prominent part of the little family library, and there is said to be still in existence a leaf of this book on which the father wrote the names and birth-days of the children, with wishes for blessings attached. Young Herder's first instruction at school, the method for which was by no means the best and easiest, was extremely strict; yet he learned rapidly. Such a boy as he must soon outstrip his schoolmates, whatever the method might be.

His peculiar taste manifested itself very early. Music and singing were his favorite pastime even in early youth. The ancient languages and history enchanted him, and the wings of poetry unfolded themselves in a marvelous manner. Since his poetic sentiment was first excited by the classics, the Bible, and hymns, it was but natural that his first attempts at versification should partake of this lofty ideal nature. His reserved and taciturn disposition made it difficult to the men in charge of his education to arrive at any clear idea of his future destination; and, as has been the case with many distinguished theologians, even with Luther and Calvin, that they entered upon a different course before adopting theology, so do we find the same feature in Herder's life. After spending considerable time under the pious but hypochondriacal and moody theologian Trescho, thus sighing away much of his youth, and spending many nocturnal hours over his books, he was placed in the hands of a surgeon to a regiment, who took him from the endeared house of his parents (whom he never saw again), to Königsberg, where he com-

menced the study of surgery.¹ But the fact that the sensitive youth fell into a swoon during the performance of the first operation was enough to decide his unfitness for that profession. He was as poorly adapted for a surgeon as he had been for soldiership, toward which he had still earlier betrayed such a decided aversion.

He now turned his attention to the peaceful study of theology, philosophy, history, languages, and belles-lettres. But in changing his studies he became greatly embarrassed, for he was at once deprived of the friendly aid of the surgeon. His stay in Königsberg, whose magnificent style of architecture charmed him, was now, with all its grandeur, a school of severe discipline for him. His deep and rich impressions from the outward world contrasted glaringly with his poverty, dire necessity, natural reticence, and bashfulness. Now thrown upon his own resources, and with only a few noble friends to assist him, his lofty genius, though hemmed in and pressed down on every side, was left to pursue its own course. The conflict led to victory; and after he had taken the first rough steps, and entered the first dark openings, his approach to the temple of fame became more rapid and joyous.

Kant and Hamann, men of very diverse character, were the great intellects that shone preëminently in the High School of Königsberg. Lilienthal, the defender of the good cause of revelation, was teacher of theology. Herder always spoke of this worthy theologian, as he did of Kant, in terms of the greatest respect, although he was no friend to the philosophy of the latter, as we shall hereafter see. His outward condition gradually improved so much that he was appointed a gymnasial teacher in the Frederick College of Königsberg. Herder was an earnest teacher, and deeply interested in the progress of his classes. But he was very strict toward himself, and it was by this attention that his new position not only brought him external but inward victory. "It is to my own teaching," said he, "that I am indebted

¹ Sebastian Frederick Trescho, born at Liebstadt, Prussia, in 1733, afterwards deacon in Mohrunen. He is the author of the *Sterbebibel*, and other devotional books highly prized by many Christians.

for the development of many of my ideas and their clear precision; let whoever would arrive at these in any department, go to teaching." Years afterward, when his circumstances were changed, and he was no longer a teacher of science, he often wished for the privilege of teaching a few years in some university, in order to be more fully committed to his ideas and principles, and to utter them in a more earnest style. This necessity of communicating information was a part of Herder's mental constitution. His nature was electrical, easily finding a spark and speedily scintillating it forth again. Thus ripened the fervid intellect of this otherwise timid young man, until it arrived to manly clearness and strength. The native shyness of his character decreased, and he who "was once afraid to look upon any man, could now gaze steadily into the face of noblemen and kings."¹

Of all his friends in Königsberg, J. G. Hamann occupied the first place. Herder's wife says, that "in Hamann he found just what he sought and was needing,—a sympathetic, loving, and warm heart for every thing good and great; an intellectual religiousness; the strongest moral principles; and a consecrated genius possessing real soul and spirit. Thus he pressed his Hamann to his heart, and the two united their tenderest sympathies for time and eternity."² Hamann was "a good handful of years" older than he was, as Herder himself says. He exerted great influence upon the latter's career, while, on the other hand, Herder afterwards made him known to the literary world as the Magus of the North. But although Hamann was older, we shall hereafter return to the consideration of his original and mysterious nature, when we study him in another connection. Herder's outward relation to his friends underwent a change when he was appointed assistant teacher in the Grammar School at Riga, in the autumn of 1764. He was twenty years old when he as-

¹ Thus his teacher, Trescho, wrote concerning him in 1764, when he made Herder a visit to Königsberg. See Herder's *Biographie*, by his wife, in his *Sämmtliche Werke, zur Philosophie und Geschichte*, Vol. XVI. Part I. p. 54.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

sumed the position. He had hitherto worn smooth hair, but now he must conform to the rigid school-customs of that period by procuring a wig, which gave the young man an older and more clerical appearance. But the wig could accomplish far less than the character of the young man, who not only knew how to win the necessary respect of his pupils, but also to gain their confidence and love to a high degree. "His mode of teaching," said one of his pupils afterward, "was so excellent, and his intercourse with his scholars so kindly, that the instructions of no one were more gladly attended than his."¹

Herder met with a fine circle of old and new friends at Riga, and his own free and restless mind knew well how to adapt itself to the remaining fragments of the old Hanseatic customs and constitution. His views of life enlarged, and those opinions on civil freedom and prosperity which he had long entertained in private now matured into living matter-of-fact forms. His temporal prosperity constantly improved. His student-friend of Königsberg, Hartknoch, the publisher, issued his works, which were now fast winning their way to fame. His *Fragments on German Literature*, and his *Critical Fields*, had, by their boldness, gained him many new friends among the learned, though they had stirred up others to envy and opposition. In order to escape the vexatious annoyances attendant upon literary controversies, Herder resolved to make a tour into foreign lands. He was assisted by his friends. Having secured his discharge from his engagements, he went through Nantes to Paris, at that time the seat of the Encyclopædist philosophy, and the starting-point of the deistical movement, which had gradually extended all over Germany. He became acquainted with a number of the Encyclopædist standard-bearers; and while he manifested no favor toward their system, he spoke respectfully of its champions. For, while he sought the acquaintance of these men, he knew how to draw the line of demarcation between them and their o-

¹ See Herder's *Biographie* by his wife, in the *Sämmtliche Werke, zur Phil. und Gesch.*, Vol. XVI. Part. I. p. 87.

pinions. Though his own character was thoroughly German, he knew how to appreciate the good qualities of other nations without overvaluing and slavishly imitating them. It was from this standpoint that he criticized French poetry. After a tour through Holland and the Netherlands he returned to Germany by way of Hamburg, where he made the acquaintance of Lessing, Claudius, Bode, Reimarus, and Pastor Goetze. It was from this varied circle of intellects that Claudius, the Wandsbeck Messenger, entered into terms of greatest intimacy with Herder, in much the same way that Hamann had done,—an intimacy which took deeper root with the flight of years.

Having received an invitation at Paris from the Prince of Holstein-Oldenburg to accompany him on his travels, he set out for the court at Eutin, where he was well received, and where he preached a few times in the court-church. The tour with the prince led him through Darmstadt, where he became acquainted with his subsequent wife, a Miss Flachsland. She says of him: "He preached in the court-church. I heard the voice of an angel, and soul-words which I had never heard before. I have no language to describe this peculiar and great impression. A heavenly messenger in human form stood before me. I saw him that afternoon, and stammered my thanks to him. From that time our two souls were one, and still are one. Our union was the work of God." He remained in Strasburg some time, where he had his diseased eye operated upon, for he was much troubled with a weeping fistula. There he became acquainted with Goethe and Jung-Stilling. Both of these men state the impression made upon them, each in his own language. Goethe was an eye-witness of the fortitude and patience displayed by him during the painful but fruitless surgical operation. It was even at this early period that Goethe was repelled from him by the morose side of Herder's character, and the fact caused a distance at once between them.¹ But

¹ See *Aus meinem Leben. Goethe's Werke*. Stuttgart, 1829. Vol. XXV. p. 296 ff.

Jung-Stilling, on the contrary, was very much attracted to Herder; and the latter soon grew much more attached to him than to Goethe. "Never," said Jung-Stilling, when speaking of himself, "have I admired a person more than this man." And he confesses that he received from him an impulse toward an "eternal progress." "Herder has one thought, and that is the whole world."¹

¹ Stilling's *Wanderschaft*, p. 187 ff.

LECTURE II.

GOETHE ON HERDER.—HERDER'S OFFICIAL LABORS IN BÜCK-
EBURG.—COUNTESS MARIA.—HERDER'S LITERARY LABORS.
—CALL TO WEIMAR.—LITERARY CLIMAX.—JOURNEY TO
ITALY.—HIS LATER LIFE.—HIS CHARACTERISTICS.—HIS
VERSATILITY AND VIVACITY.—HUMANITY AND ITS RELA-
TION TO CHRISTIANITY AND PROTESTANTISM.

We closed our last lecture with Jung-Stilling's confession, that he had received from Herder "an impulse toward eternal progress,"—words in which we have the confession of not only one individual, but of many, indeed, of whole generations. Many a one who has ascended to the higher walks of life can say just what Jung-Stilling did. And have not even our times received from him this general impulse toward an infinite and earnest progress? But when Stilling extolled his power over him, Herder had not yet entered upon public life. He was still in his youthful, plastic state, and full of his ideas and plans. "What emotion there was in such a spirit, what power of achievement in such an intellect," says Goethe, on his first acquaintance with him, "can neither be imagined nor described. But we can easily conceive of his secret determination when we reflect upon his great works after the lapse of many years." This testimony is less suspicious, because the repelling pole of Herder seems to have exerted more influence upon Goethe's person than the attractive one. Following Goethe's portrait further, we learn that "his conduct was tender, becoming, respectful, and natural. He had a round face, a prominent forehead, a flattish nose, and a mouth upwardly inclined, but in the highest sense individual, pleasant,

and indicative of amiability. His coal-black eyes, peering from beneath his black eyebrows, were not without effect, though one was usually red and inflamed." Thus far with Goethe.

We will now consider Herder as the full-grown man, and follow him in his official and public labors in church and school. It must be painful for great minds, who feel that they have the power of genius within them, to find themselves suddenly reduced from the free course of their developing intellect to the contracted bounds of a petty sphere of civil activity. And yet fidelity to one's calling, the working of a great mind in apparently small relations, is the test of real greatness.

Herder had received a complimentary call as Consistorial Councilor and Superintendent at Bückeburg, the little residence of the Count of Schaumburg-Lippe. He accepted it cordially, because his relations with the Prince of Holstein began to be unpleasant to him. In May, 1771, he entered upon his new position. The count, a man of culture, favorable to the new illumination, and of noble parts, hoped to find in Herder as intellectual and social a friend as he had met with in Thomas Abbt, the author of the work on Merit. The count had the low estimate of the office of the ministry common in that day, and it was his opinion that Herder should live solely for him, and that pastoral matters should be merely secondary. But Herder would not do this, for he did not regard the Christian minister as a sinecure. And after he had so decidedly expressed himself in his Provincial Letters against the view that the position "as tutor and carver at his majesty's table" was regarded the best highway to spiritual offices, he would not degrade himself into an ecclesiastical table-companion and literary carver. This produced many a difference between him and the count. But, in like measure, the countess became devotedly attached to her "teacher," as she was in the habit of reverently calling him.

This excellent lady, Maria, whose native title was Countess of Lippe and Sternberg, seemed to Herder "as an angel sent down from heaven."¹ Having lost her mother on the very day of her birth, she received her first training in her father's

¹ *Biographie*, p. 187. Comp. the *Grabrede*, *Werke zur Phil. und Theol.*, Part II. p. 401.

house, in company with her twin-brother, whom she called her Jonathan. She was subsequently placed in the care of an elder sister in Silesia, and under the influence of the Moravians. From this latter source it is very likely that she combined a certain anxiety and painfulness of mind with her inner and deep religious life. But Herder freed her from it; and he did it gradually, not by any premature clearing up of difficulty, but by the aid of his frank, transparent nature; by his kindly entrance into her very feelings; by his friendly meeting of her difficulties; by his progressive instructions; by the dignified exercise of his scientific superiority; and by the force of his personally convincing nature. The correspondence of the countess with Herder is psychologically instructive in the highest degree. As the sun scatters the clouds that obscure a beautiful smiling landscape, so do we find the doubts that enveloped this refined soul first scattered by the penetrating beams of Herder's clearness. Henceforth, the unveiled picture of her nature, the very ideal of lovely womanhood, stands before us with a constant increase of friendliness, confiding love, clearness, and security. She was disclosed to her teacher just as the flower is to the sun, and thereby her hidden worth greatly gains on our esteem. I might say, that Herder's capacity to reform, and to clear up difficulties without working injury; of pouring light into the soul, and, instead of unsettling it, or leading it astray, of establishing it upon the strongest basis, was indicated in relation to the Countess Maria just as it would have been wherever his mind might employ its strength. But his relations were not in all cases equally favorable. Many an outward prejudice opposed his influence, and inward anxiety often prevented the exercise of his capacity,—a difficulty that caused him great trouble. "A pastor without a congregation; a patron of schools without schools; a consistorial councilor without a consistory;"—this was an intolerable thought to Herder during the first year of his official career in Bückeburg.¹ He thus writes to the future companion of his life: "All my favorite ideas of the office of the ministry have been

¹ *Biographie*, p. 225.

nullified to some extent, and they must be disappointed, by my isolation in this place."

According to the functions of his position, Herder was obliged to preach to the congregation; but during the early part of his ministrations his sermons were quite too deep and philosophical for the most of his hearers. But he gradually lowered his style of expression, until he finally gained universal applause. Thus it happened that the rustics of his little Bückeburg chapel hung upon his words with listless attention. And Herder made it his greatest aim to alienate his method of preaching as far as possible from the technical and obscure style of the schools. "My sermons," he writes again to his betrothed, "are as little clerical as my person. They are the human experiences of a full heart; they are quite removed from homiletical arts and constraints, from which I am altogether spared in this place."¹ His course of sermons on the Life of Jesus produced a remarkable impression on his congregation. They may be compared to seeds scattered broadcast over the land, and awaiting the blessings of heaven to give them fruitfulness. But his office afforded him ample leisure for authorship. Here the freshest, most exhilarating, and most fervid utterances of his imagination poured forth from his pen. He wrote the *Oldest Records of the Human Race* in the glow of his feelings, while in the enjoyment of the morning hours of the longest summer days. "These were days peculiarly happy and memorable," said his subsequent wife, who even then shared his intellectual pleasures.² In the same way he wrote the *Provincial Letters* and the *Philosophy of Human History*, the latter of which was preliminary to his later ideas.

An attempt,—in which Heyne, the celebrated philologist, was especially active,—to attract Herder to Göttingen, as Fourth Professor of Theology and Chaplain to the University, failed, after much negotiation, because he finally gave a favorable reply to Goethe's question: "Whether you will accept the position of General Superintendent at Weimar?" But there were serious hindrances at the outset in con-

¹ *Biographie*, p. 218.

² *Idem*, p. 289.

nection with this position. Herder's orthodoxy provoked contempt; his learning was depreciated; and it was said that he could not preach. The matter went so far that an honorable councilman of Weimar desired that he would preach a trial-sermon before him, a request which Herder would not consent to for very manifest reasons.¹ After much negotiation he entered upon his new office; but it was after he had delivered the funeral oration over the deceased countess, and thus completed and sealed, in a highly significant manner, his influence upon her.

By his removal to Weimar he found himself in intimate relations with those minds who were at that time giving new life to Germany,—such as Wieland, Schiller, Goethe, Jean Paul, Knebel, and others. As he had formerly gone beyond theology into literature, there was now much greater danger that he would be completely absorbed in general literature. But his versatile mind here displayed its real power. The poet of the *Cid*, the author of various æsthetic and philosophical treatises, and the zealous and contemplative collector of the popular songs of all nations, found time and strength enough to enrich his theological knowledge with new and living ideas without neglecting his official duties, or in any wise lessening his activity in church or school.²

¹ According to his Biography. The case is somewhat differently stated in Pencer's *Mittheilungen über Herder's Berufung nach Weimar* (*Herder's Album*, p. 49 ff.). According to this work, the trial-sermon was desired, in conformity with the custom of the consistory, but Herder was excused by a ducal rescript.

² How very earnestly and seriously Herder viewed the minister's work may be seen from his installation-sermon (see *Herder's Album*, p. 67 ff.). He thus said: "It seems to me that Luther's spirit is in my presence, and says to me, 'Look at what I, and those whose bones rest here in the Palace Church, have labored to effect; and how difficult it was for us to place the light of the gospel, which lay sleeping in the ashes, upon its candlestick! You are taking your place as an instructor just where there is everything to remind you what doctrines you must preach; what word, and with what power you have to enforce it; and in what time you have to labor. You are to be a carer for souls in a period where there is grave questioning as to whether or not there is such a thing as religion, or any thought or care should be

His work on the Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, and his Letters on the Study of Theology, the latter of which has brought light and guidance to so many young men, made a deep impression upon the times, and scattered seeds far out upon the future. Fruit came even from Switzerland. As Lavater had made a pilgrimage to Spalding when a young man, so did J. G. Müller, the brother of the historian, go from Göttingen to Weimar on foot just to see Herder, and get advice from him concerning his studies. Herder received him very kindly, and the conversation soon turned upon theological studies. A cheerful smile lighted up Herder's countenance. He arose, took a book out of his case, and handed it to the young man. It was the first part of his Letters on the Study of Theology, received but an hour before from his publisher. How it must have delighted Herder to find at once a young man for whom his book was written, and who, as he himself informs us, received it from his hands with hearty thanks and an earnest desire to study its contents. From this hour forth a permanent friendship was established between the older and younger

spent upon the matter; when the whole stream of the thinking of the times is opposed to it, and threatens to submerge it in its mad waves. It must not be thought that we have nothing to do with anything else besides religion, or that religion is such an individual matter that the office of the ministry is useless, the fragment of an old custom; that it exists now from the mere force of prejudice; and that it is so onerous and antiquated that it should not be discharged in our times. Now, behold you are entering upon this very office! Thy soul shall stand for the place of other souls. He whom thou shalt be instrumental in saving, shall dwell in eternal mansions; whoever is neglected by thee shall sink into ruin, and shall press thee to eternal destruction!' It seems to me these are Luther's words, or, rather, the language of the Lord of all lords, the King of all kings, the Holy One and Protector of all souls, Jesus Christ, the subject of all true preaching, the one who has said, that, where two or three are gathered together in his name, he would be in the midst of them, and who points to his words and church, and says: 'I have redeemed thee with my own blood. Take care that thou do not lose any over whom thou art placed as shepherd and guardian, whom I give to thee; who are as stars in my hand, and whose names are written in my heart and on my breast. For my eyes flash, and my blood burns even in the lowest depths.'"

man,—between the Weimarian and the gifted theologian from Schaffhausen.

At present we will not follow Herder's literary labors further, nor his relations to the notabilities of Weimar, but will afterwards return to them. His body and mind were greatly refreshed by a journey to Italy, a country which he had longed even in his early youth to see. His taste for art and antiquity was greatly quickened and improved, while the nature and customs of the country found in him a very careful observer. While in Rome he received another call from Göttingen. He was much inclined to accept it, and the voice of his own genius seemed to counsel it; but yet the reigning duchess, Amalie, induced him to spend the remainder of his life in Weimar. Unfortunately, the latter portion of his career at Weimar was disturbed by unpleasant experiences and by sickness, and we derive a truly tragical impression from his own utterance of grief and bitterness at his futile plans: "O my misspent life!"¹

The external honors paid him when he was offered the vice-presidency and subsequently the presidency of the Consistory, 1801, were but a small counterpoise to his regrets concerning himself. New troubles occurred, from which he found the sweetest relief in his domestic circle. The disease of his eye increased after 1801. The use of the waters at Aix-la-Chapelle and Eger did not satisfy his expectations. Three weeks spent in Dresden were the last bright sunbeams of his life. He returned to Weimar in September, 1803, and on the last day of that month he conducted a discussion on the doctrine of angels with extraordinary vivacity of mind, but soon afterwards departed into the unseen future. John von Müller

¹ There was personal clashing among the great minds surrounding the Weimar court. It is humiliating to see what a contemptible, wicked spirit of gossip could insinuate itself there, and embitter the life of Herder, just as if he had been malicious toward others. Compare, for example, the wicked sketch of Herder's matrimonial life in *Schiller's und Körner's Briefe*, Vol. I. p. 166. Indeed, it very much diminishes our respect for genius when we see so much natural corruption in connection with all this exterior culture, and in spite of all the genial influences of Christianity.

wrote thus to his brother concerning Herder's death: "He spoke as if from another world, and concerning beings to whom he felt related."¹ In his last years he yearned after nothing more earnestly than those great, lofty thoughts on which a man of his nature could live. Klopstock's Odes, Young's Night Thoughts, and Müller's Relics, were, next to the Bible, and especially the Prophets, his last spiritual food. He died on the 18th of December, 1803, after his own soul had risen high above all human littleness, and but shortly after he had been elevated to the order of the nobility by the Elector of Bavaria. Thus much for his material life

Turning now to the consideration of Herder's mental qualities, we may premise with a word of Jean Paul concerning him: "His noble intellect has been acknowledged by men of different times and of various parties, though faults have also been attributed to him. For he had the misfortune not to have been a star of either the first or any other magnitude, but a galaxy of stars, from which every one could spell out a star-picture according to his fancy. Men of versatile powers are always ignored, but those of one gift are almost invariably appreciated." This last was, in fact, the case with Herder. Those who estimate the greatness of a man from his special services in a given department, and only ask, 'Who was the greatest poet? Who the greatest philosopher? Who the greatest theologian?', seldom unite in Herder's praise. They would prefer Schiller and Goethe as poets, and elevate Kant, Fichte and Schelling infinitely above him as philosophers. As for theology, they would ask whether he has rendered any extraordinary service in exegesis, church-history, or doctrines, and would give to Mosheim, Michaelis, Semler, Ernesti, and Doederlein, who had preceded him, and to Griesbach, Eichhorn, Spittler, and Planck, who wrote at the same time with him or afterward, the credit for the most celebrated achievements in their departments. We answer, that greatness in one department, however necessary it may be to science in general, and promotive of the cause of learning, is by no means the only kind of greatness which deserves our ad-

¹ *Werke*, Part VII. p. III.

miration. It can be more easily estimated; and for this reason, as Jean Paul intimates, it receives the greatest praise. But where a strong hold is to be taken upon life itself; new intellectual and moral states to be introduced; and new vistas of truth to be opened, not merely within the concealed bounds of one art or science, but in the whole sphere of life, the work is done less by men who are great in only one field than by those universal minds of whom Herder is the type of one class and Goethe of another.

Goethe was even more universal than Herder; but he lacked a most important quality,—a more religious and definite relation to Christianity. But just here lay Herder's strength.¹ Though Goethe's influence in improving the knowledge of the world, which we by no means undervalue, was far greater than Herder's, it was the latter who led us to an infinitely higher and deeper knowledge of God, and, without confounding it with the knowledge of the world, harmonized the two in many beautiful forms. If we give Herder an inferior position as poet to Schiller and Goethe, we do not look upon him merely as a poet, but as a theologian, public speaker, popular orator, and preacher. It is just this union of the religious and theological genius with the poetic, and of the literary author with the servant of the church, that makes Herder what he is,—a man whose place can not be supplied by another. We therefore look upon him as a peculiar phenomenon, closing an old period and beginning a new one. For, though there were theologians of his day who surpassed him in the extent and profundity of their knowledge, and whose researches led, in individual instances, to more lasting results than was the case with Herder's bold conceptions, not one of them seized upon life with so strong a grasp.

¹ There is a striking comparison between Goethe and Herder in Wm. von Humboldt's *Briefe an eine Freundin*, Vol. I. p. 232. Among other things he says, in perfect harmony with our own view: "Herder was inferior to Goethe and Schiller in compass of intellect and the poetic faculty; but he possessed the happy union of spirit and imagination, by which he produced what neither of those men did." Is not just this blending of spirit and imagination the requisite for the religious genius?

They improved the schools more than he, but Herder did more for the people, and particularly the more cultivated classes. And it has been upon the schools, and especially upon theological science, that he has exerted an invigorating and transforming influence. I might ask those who have an opinion on the subject, what benefits the learning of Michaelis, deficient as it was in all poetic feeling and deep truth, has conferred upon the study of the Bible, compared with that enthusiastic impulse which Herder has given to the study and elucidation of the Old Testament?

Kant, Fichte and Schelling constitute such a series in philosophy that their names are the boundary-stones of the stages of the later history of philosophy, where Hegel stands as the last. But here, too, the schools derived their most immediate advantage from Herder. These very men made use of mystifying and ambiguous formularies, and Herder combatted them with all his might, contending for the superiority of mental independence to artificial and labored technicalities. And it was high time for the advent of a Herder to purify the temple from the desecration of the new scholasticism. There have been individuals who have brought to light more fundamental truth from ancient sources. But who has awakened so many ideas by his own ideas, and scattered so many sparks of his intellect where there was nothing but dead matter, numbers and names, and registers and commentaries?

Herder's versatility should not be confounded with that shallow general knowledge and desultory dabbling in many subjects, which, smacking a little of everything, furnish nothing thorough, and are dissipated by being spread over all departments of knowledge. But no one was more opposed to incompleteness than he was. What Herder did, he did thoroughly; he seized the subject by the roots, never being content to pluck a flower from the hedge merely to deck off his vanity. Everywhere we see peaks of his intellect reaching the heavens, while its weight penetrated the lowest depths. Wherever his genius knocked, there was no dull and empty sound; whenever he put forth an effort, he never descended to mediocrity. You fail to find in him thorough elaboration,

careful finish, and mature and consecutive examination of thoughts; and you will take exception at his rigor of expression, apparent contradictions, and bold assertions, particularly when he speaks so confidently as to cut you off from all contradiction. But in no case is it the shallow-brain speaking with stubbornness, nor the one who says over again what others have said before him, and only wishes to reap where he has never sowed. His is not the chaos of the multifarious mind, which has a crude mass heaped up within it, as was the case with his friend Hamann. On the contrary, everything that Herder received was transformed into strength and blood, united into a harmonious whole, and articulated and organized,—thus partaking of his own nature, and conceived and wrought out as only he could do it. His contemporary and antagonist, Kant, perceived this, and thus made mention of it censoriously rather than approvingly in his review of Herder's *Ideas on the History of Humanity*: "It is not as if his genius only collected ideas from the wide field of science and art, so as to increase them and fit them for communication, but as if he transformed them by a certain law of assimilation into a specific method of thinking peculiar to himself."

We may take this statement of Kant in Herder's favor, and add, that what is beautiful, peculiar, and worthy of our admiration is the fact that nothing valuable and essential is lost in the process of this most vital and personal assimilation; but that the idea becomes permeated by his own consciousness, and gains clearness, truth, and inner beauty; and consequently, that it is adapted to all minds, because he gives it forth once more freed from all the dross. Herder thought and felt *in* his times, *with* his times, and *for* his times. He pronounced clearly what many had upon their tongues and could not speak, because the word failed them. His age was reflected *in* him. Humanity found and recognized in him the picture of itself. And for this reason he was the prophet and champion of humanity.

Therefore we only understand Herder as poet, philosopher, theologian, and preacher when we have conceived him as a man. What he has rendered forth in a living state must be

conceived in a living way,—I might say, personally perceived and understood. Whoever, so to speak, would purchase only wares from him, derive utility from him by the measure, and get his results in such a way as to carry them home in his pocket, will frequently be deceived; for he will first find the discovered wisdom heavy to carry, and, after all, can hold but little in his hand. But whoever would go to him as to a refreshing fountain, delightful fragrance, and an invigorating atmosphere, will never go in vain. We do not always find the sunlight of noonday shining forth from Herder's writings; sometimes it is subdued, like that of twilight. But it is a twilight in which we never feel strange or lost, but hold only the more firmly to the guide who walks boldly forward, torch in hand. Though we would often wish that he had spoken more clearly, we never entertain the suspicion that he was not clear himself. Even where we do not meet with plan and order, where he seems to leap instead of walk, we have no fears whatever; and when we reach those heights where we expected least, we behold a magnificent landscape spread before us.

Though it is difficult to keep the various sides of Herder's character separate, we must yet examine them individually, lest we lose sight of our principal object. We do not intend, however, to commence with what is more intimately connected with this object, namely, the theological life and work of the man; but with the gifts that underlie this life,—his poetic powers, his relation to the philosophy and literature of his times, and with all that Herder was accustomed to comprehend in the one word *humanity*. As for Herder as a poet, we have already remarked that many have placed him below Schiller, Goethe, and every other one of the contemporary poets, for it is with these alone that Herder can be compared. We will not contend about precedence. I cheerfully grant that many, if not the most, of Herder's early poems are somewhat stiff and unwieldy, and can not be read with satisfaction. The greater part of his poetry is devoid of pleasant versification (the most are without rhyme), beauty of rhythm, and that peculiar enchantment which distinguishes the poetry of

Schiller and Goethe. But this does not at all disconcert us. We attribute far more importance to Herder's pure, noble, and lofty poetic sentiment than to his poetic works, among which may be classed his *Cid*, legends, and cantos, as his chief works of art. As his wife says: "Poetry was to him no unmeaning jingle of words and forms, but God's language."¹ Jean Paul strikingly remarks concerning him: "Though he were no poet, he was something still better,—a poem,—an Indo-Grecian epic, composed by one of the purest divinities; for everything flowed into his beautiful soul as into a poem, and the true, the beautiful, and the good were inseparable in it. He was poetic after the manner of Grecian life. Poetry was not an appendage to the horizon of life, like the gathering of clouds colored as a rainbow, which one sometimes sees in bad weather, but it was a free, light rainbow itself, soaring aloft, and shining as the gate of heaven above this thickly-clouded life."

This thorough and appreciative estimate of Jean Paul concerning Herder is of great value in determining his theological opinions. He viewed religion in a poetic light, and penetrating the spirit of the oriental poetry of the Old Testament, he drew forth great treasures from the holy books. Thus, at one flight, he went far beyond and above the tedious controversies of his times; for, in my opinion, the harmony of theological extremes lies in a great measure in this sensuous, poetic contemplation of things. Do not these very extremes mostly come from an over-wrought intelligence, deprived of all the poetry of life, from a cold and prosaic manufacture of deductions, and from a misconception of the symbolical? Herder, at one stroke, cut in two all that rabbinical, scholastic subtlety when he rescued what was holy from profane hands, and fled with it into those regions where only a sense of the beautiful, the special, and peculiar, such as poetry had inspired him with, knew where to go. He looked into the very depths of that religious life which has expressed itself in the history of nations, and, above all, of God's people; while others have wallowed with a learned air in the mud that lay upon the surface.

¹ *Biographie*, p. 218.

Herder regarded poetry as something more than the manufacture of verses. As he collected the songs of the most diverse nations into one garland, and inhaled the fragrance of Grecian song with the same susceptibility and emotion with which he would listen to the poem of Job or Ossian, so was history the soil in which his whole grand view of life, his philosophy, was rooted. Herder was a philosophical poet and a poetic philosopher; but in neither sense can he be charged with that shallow universality in which so many pretended geniuses indulge, having neither foundation nor nourishing root. Poetry and philosophy were the flowers of his intellect; but the stalk took its root in history, and not the history of one people or one age, but of humanity. Herder, in his *Ideas on the Philosophy of the History of Humanity*, prosecuted the thought which Iselin first expressed as "the progress of humanity from the extremest simplicity to an ever-rising condition of light and happiness."¹ In the very title of this work we find Herder's genius reflected, not in sundering philosophy and history, but in bringing them into the most intimate connection and harmony. A philosophy without history, and built on merely abstract statements, was as odious to him as a history of only chaotic materials, without the light and atmosphere of philosophical ideas. The whole secret of Herder's genius lies in this union of history and philosophy, elevated to a higher unity by his celebrated poetic observation of the universe. "Poetry, philosophy, and history," he tells us himself, "seem to me the three lights which illuminate nations, sects, and races;—a holy triangle! Poetry elevates man, by a pleasant sensuous presence of things, above all separations and limitations; Philosophy furnishes him with strong and permanent principles thereon; and, if it be necessary, History will not deny him her wise maxims."²

Herder's historical and philosophical sense, not less than his poetic view of the world, furnishes us with the key for estimating his influence upon the formation of religious ideas. Rationalism was false and partial in its disregard of historical

¹ Iselin, *Geschichte der Menschheit*, p. xxxv.

² *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*, Vol. I. p. 397.

principles and developments, and in its wish to substitute a religion of reason for the existing one. But the prevailing orthodoxy was false and partial in its clinging to historical facts as a dead letter. Here Herder achieved a real reconciliation, inasmuch as he would grant that there was nothing perfect and ready in man which had not come by instruction, history, divine communication, and revelation. But he believed, further, that man could receive and assimilate nothing from without unless there was in him a kindred power, by which to recognize what was suited to him, receive it, work it into his being, give an exterior development, and advance it to the best of his ability. Thus, for example, in his prize-essay on the Origin of Language, he attacked the apparently devout but mechanical view that man received language alone from without, and by divine communication. He held that its origin could only be divine in so far as it was human. But with Herder, the divine and human did not constitute an antagonism, as is often attributed to those words, by which Deity renounces everything human, and man every thing divine; nor did he consider them an outward approach of one to the other. But he would see the divine reconciled with the human, and the human illuminated and dignified by the divine. Everything was divine and everything human to him, according as you take it. We have called Herder a priest of the purely human,—a priest of humanity. We must delay awhile with this thought, before treating him as a theologian.

We have thus far considered poetry, philosophy, and history as separate branches of Herder's character and labors, but let us now group them in that one word which Herder uttered with more force than any one else has done, and which he placed in the mouth and into the very soul of his age,—the word *humanity*. Like the word tolerance, it became a watch-word, a shibboleth of the century. And as we are dwelling upon the representative of humanity, it becomes us to arrive at a definite understanding of this word, with which a great portion of recent history is connected, in order that we may discuss the relation in which this modern humanity

stands to Christianity and to the Protestantism of the century. But let us candidly ask first, what did Herder himself mean by the word? He knew very well that a word does not constitute the thing, and that it is difficult to find any word to which somebody can not take exception.¹ And yet he knew of no better one.

Human dignity, he held, is that lofty character of our race to which it must be trained. For the beautiful word *benevolence*, which had become so weakened as to mean that one mostly loves his fellow-men that he may love none of them effectively, Herder substituted the foreign word *humanity*. He meant by it the character of our race, that which belongs to us by nature, and to which we must be developed. "We do not bring it complete," said he, "into the world, but, being in the world, it should be the aim of our labor, and the sum of our efforts and our worth. Therefore, the divine in our race is culture for humanity. All great and good men, lawgivers, discoverers, philosophers, poets, artists,—every noble man in his sphere of labor,—have contributed to this result by the training of their children, by the discharge of their duties, and by example, work, institution, and doctrine. Humanity, the treasure and gain of all human endeavors, is, so to speak, the art of our race. And the necessary culture for it is a work which must be prosecuted unremittingly, or we shall sink back, both upper and lower classes, into rough bestiality and brutishness."

With Herder, humanity is as old as the human race. If the very idea of man reminds us of his weakness and frailty, so does it also recall his humaneness, and his sympathetic love of his fellow-man. The task of humanity is to arrive at a knowledge of the nature of man, to effect the development of his natural capacities in a way commensurate with his nature, and secure the collection of all men into one city of God, where only one law reigns, and that the spirit of universal reason. "I wish," said he, "that I could comprehend in the word humanity all that I have said on man's

¹ On this and the following, compare especially the *Briefe über Humanität*, and the *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (*Werke zur Phil und Gesch.*, Vol. III. p. 217).

noble culture toward reason and freedom, toward the improvement and control of the earth; for man has no nobler word for his destiny than himself." Thus far with Herder himself. But now we may ask: Is not all this the task of Christianity? Certainly it is, and Herder so understood it. "Christianity," said he, "requires the purest humanity in the purest way." But we further inquire, why do we have this preaching of humanity with the preaching of Christianity? The answer can be best given historically; and therefore permit me, in conclusion, to subjoin to Herder's life an historical statement of the relation of humanity to Christianity and Protestantism.

Christianity is undoubtedly the religion of mankind. Christ, the Son of man, is also the best friend of man, and his Spirit the true instructor of the human race. But we know how soon men departed from these simple ideas, and how Christian doctrine became strange to man by his amassing of heterogeneous dogmas, and how a misconception of the doctrine of human depravity led him to think that, at one time he had to be on a level with the brute, but at another, supernatural duties were required of him. Christianity would effect more than the mere education of the natural man; it would achieve his restoration to God's image. This distinguishes it from the ancient or ante-christian conception of humanity. It recognizes an old and a new man. We should put off the old man, which has become corrupt by sinful lusts, and put on the new man, which is created after God's image in righteousness and holiness. But even this new man, which is created after God's image, should in turn become natural to us by the grace of God; Christ should take form within us; the inner man should be renewed within us day by day. And the new man should not sit upon us as a new garment, in which we walk about stiffly and strangely, but should be as another nature to us; it should conquer the old within us, and enable us to walk freely as the newborn, the elect, the illuminated, the sons of God.¹

¹ This thought is elaborated in my Whitsuntide Sermon on 1 Cor. ii. 14. Basle, 1856.

But, according to Herder, this naturalization of the supernatural, this formation of the divine within the human, and the elevation of the human to the divine, would not be understood by Christendom for a long time. The old variance between the human and divine would always reappear; men would ever believe that they could obtain something peculiarly holy by the suffocation, removal, and overstraining of human thoughts and instincts. Hence the rise of the self-sacrificing monastic piety of the Middle Ages, and the abortions of scholasticism, which turned away the human mind from the wholesome observation of itself and of nature. Though these phenomena took place on Christian soil, they were in opposition to humanity. The Reformation has restored their rights to the divine and the human. Even before it occurred, an interest for human affairs, for human life and effort, had been awakened by the restoration of the sciences and the revival of the study of the classics. But this modern humanism, —which we distinguish from modern humanity,—was not sufficient for its purpose, because it allied itself only to the ancient world of the Greeks and Romans, and merely brought Christianity into outward connection with it. There was needed a stronger awakening from the lowest depths of religious experience, and a new birth from faith,—just as were effected by Luther.

Now, how was humanity related to this work of the Reformation? We do not say that Luther had no taste for the purely human, for he advocated it, in his noble frankness. But it was this very frankness which proved that the purely human had not become a matter of consciousness in him. His sense of the human as such was far inferior to his enthusiasm for those divine ends which he rightfully served, in view of his position.¹ But the sturdiness of his natural man may have suppressed in him many pure manifestations of humanity, while, for example, the more quiet and refined Melancthon impresses us more as a human theologian.² But

¹ Schenkel, in his *Wesen des Protestantismus*, Vol. I. p. 316 ff., has shown that humanity did not receive its due in Luther's christology.

² Even Zwingli and Calvin unquestionably surpassed Luther in urbanity.

humanity was subsequently driven off again from theology. Coarse and ignorant brawls frightened it away, and only single noble minds, such as Valentine Andreä, a favorite of Herder, stood with their clear human faces high above the heated heads of the combatants.

Pietism too, although it did a noble work against dead orthodoxy, was not distinguished for humanity. True, in its first stage, the period of Spener and Francke, and even later, it developed a high degree of active benevolence; and its magnificent institutions are eminent works of humanity and noble evidences of it. But that other and more ideal side of humanity, that public taste for multiform human growth and the maturity of all endowments,—art, for example,—and, in a word, the sense of the beautiful, were totally repudiated by Pietism, which opposed the world as undivine, and could only look upon its improvement in chiliastic perspective. It was reserved for the eighteenth century to recognize, cultivate, exercise, and vitalize this sense, which was awakened on all sides and announced in every direction; and in the present century it was Herder who carried the light in the van and opened the way. What the philanthropism of Basedow had inaugurated in a homely and rough way, and what the noble Iselin had already attempted in more timid and limited efforts, now received through Herder its deeper truth, nobler direction, and more extensive propagation. And thus Herder advanced the work of evangelical Protestantism in such a way that he introduced humanity into it at the same time that he humanized the Reformation. But as every thing has its dark side, we will not forget that enthusiasm for humanity, which we now meet with everywhere, has assumed a perverted tendency, and that what should have been a member in the historical development of evangelical Protestantism has produced in its turn ungratifying results, and, being torn loose from the body, has exerted a deleterious influence. Those who were impelled by instinct and zeal to seek only the human in man could not succeed in finding man himself, and what Herder said of the beautiful word *philanthropy* could also be affirmed of humanity,—that many

had taken it upon their lips without showing themselves human in their lives.¹

The charm which is always contained in the sound of a new word was great enough to attract many from plain evangelical truth, and lead them to deride Christianity as a lower step of humanity, if, indeed, it was any better than barbarism. The term *humanity* was thought to be in direct antagonism to the national and confessional narrowness of earlier times. Every one should feel that he is human, and this feeling should put to flight every thing that tends to separate the members of one people from those of another, and the adherents of one religion from those who believe in a different one. If people meant thereby that partial, selfish, and perverted views, under the appearance of nationality and religion, severed men from one another, and prompted them to narrow-minded exclusiveness and foolish, mutual hate, this preaching of humanity would be altogether in place. But the lauded humanity very easily passed into indifference toward everything religious and national, and introduced cosmopolitanism in politics and indifference in religion. It soon came to pass that the ideal love for the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego and the Iroquois Indians suppressed practical love toward one's neighbor; and the professors of humanity renounced all Christian fellowship, and calumniated in the most inhuman way everything that the church had done, or had proceeded from the church. Indeed, while it had previously been necessary that man should put off the natural man in order to become a Christian, these persons demanded that Christ should be put off in order to be man.

We know, from what has been said already, that Herder did not share this opinion. As for the nation, no one had a more German heart than himself, although he had an open and receptive appreciation of the most varied nationalities.

¹ Hundeshagen, in his Lecture before the Frankfort Church Diet, 1854, on the Inner Mission of the Universities, has shown how great is the mission of the word *humanity* in recent times, and how the entire observation of the world has finally become changed from the divine to the human point of view.

As for Christianity, it must by all means be confessed that, especially in the later period of his life, he construed what was peculiarly Christian in its historical and doctrinal certainty too much in the sense of what he termed the purely human. But we will not express our opinion on this point before we become acquainted with Herder in his wider character of theologian. For the present, let us close with that sentiment which Herder has characterized as at once the watchword of humanity and Christianity: "While bad morality is satisfied with the proverb, 'Every one for himself and no one for all,' the true watchword of Christianity is, 'No one for himself alone, but every one for all.'" And, in Herder's opinion, this was the true watchword of humanity.

LECTURE III.

HERDER AS A THEOLOGIAN.—HIS HUMAN METHOD OF CONTEMPLATING THE DIVINE.—POETIC OBSERVATION OF THE WORLD.—SCENE IN A JOURNEY.—HERDER'S CHRISTIANITY.—HIS THEOLOGICAL CONVICTIONS AND CHARACTER.—HIS OPINIONS ON THEOLOGY AND THE MINISTERIAL OFFICE.—HERDER AS A PREACHER.—HIS VIEW OF HYMNS, AND HIS OWN GIFTS AS RELIGIOUS POET.

In the last lecture we considered Herder as poet, as the prophet and representative of humanity, and as a philosophical historian, or, if you prefer, as a historical philosopher. We then gave an account of the nature of humanity as a coöperative agency in the kingdom of thought. We will now speak of him as a theologian. The previous discussion was necessary, in order to establish a basis for our present examination. For Herder as a theologian stands upon the very ground spread before us in the previous lecture,—the ground of a universal human civilization, the ground of humanity.

His theological labors were not separate from his other work. He was not simply a learned man who occasionally made verses for his own amusement; nor was he a preacher who passionately buried himself in the study of history when he did not have to preach. As we have already seen, all things were alike to him. He was a theological poet and a truly poetic theologian. Poetry and prose, the spiritual and the temporal, the scientific and the national, were all conferred on him in union. In those of his works that were not theological he appeared too theological to men of the world;

while, on the other hand, in his strictly theological writings, he could seem too little so to rigidly professional theologians, and, lastly, he could seem much too worldly to the seriously pious. He even introduced theology into the purely human,—into humanity itself. In a certain degree, he humanized the Bible and Christianity, though of divine origin. This thought of humanization makes one shudder, but the fright will pass off or decrease on further explanation. Everything depends upon what we mean by human, and what is our standard for measuring man. If one means by human what is evil, frail, sinful, and pitiable, it sounds like blasphemy to call Christianity a human religion and the Bible a human book. For it is equivalent to saying: What you have heretofore claimed to be divine, and revered as divine, is only a useless piece of man's workmanship, a human discovery, an arbitrary, despotic command, and a sheer deception.

This language had been employed before Herder's time, and, indeed, in all times. But he who would believe that Herder accorded with it even slightly only exposes his ignorance of the opinions of the great man's thoughts. Herder's views were just the reverse. The very Bible that so many had striven to set aside as an antiquated and obscure book, and as a museum of old prejudices, he would hold aloft as the light in the candlestick of the sanctuary, just as Luther had done in the days of the Reformation. It was just the despised and scorned form of the Son of man on whom the most depraved souls believed they had a right to heap their contumely; but it was this same form that he would revive before the eyes of the world, place it in its native glory, divinity in the form of a servant, and, in quite another sense than that of Pilate, cry aloud to them: "Behold the man!" He would announce that he too knew of no other name whereby men can be saved than that of Jesus Christ. The whole effort of Herder now seems to have been apologetic from the beginning, inspired as he was with a courageous spirit to defend the divine character of the Bible and Christianity against all freethinking.

. This was expressed in his earlier works in the most positive and vigorous language, though he incurred the danger of being called a blockhead by the illuminists. But it must have occasioned Herder great pain when he saw the theologians, through an unskillful defence, place arms in the hands of their enemies by seeking the divinity of the Bible where it is not to be found, by an undue zeal for the letter to the total neglect of the spirit, and, on the other hand, by abandoning what should have been retained, and bringing the Bible into discredit by their artificial and strained expositions. Herder required of every one who would read the Bible and Christianity at the same time to understand the matter for himself, to penetrate it with his own vision. Nor should he cling to devised words and phrases, but read the Scripture: as they must be read,—as a book which, with all its divine origin and divine end, was nevertheless written by human hands, for men, for human eyes, human hearts, and human minds. Though it is a book written for all time, yea, for eternity, it also concerns given times and circumstances, and will be understood by them. Herder brought out anew the estimate of that purely human side of the Bible upon which Luther had laid great stress, and by which it becomes incorporated with our humanity. It was in this sense that he began his *Letters on the Study of Theology* with the following words: “My dear friend, the best study of divinity is the study of the Bible, and the best reading of the divine book is human. The Bible must be read in a human way, for it was written by men and for men. The more humanly we read God’s Word, the nearer do we approach the purpose of its Author, who created man in his own image, and deals toward us humanly in all those works and blessings where he manifests himself to us as God.”

All can readily see that this humanity does not stand in the way of the divinity, but is rather its support. And how child-like and humbly great does Herder open his heart and thoughts to the Divine Spirit who speaks to us through the Scriptures! He thus writes in his *Letters to Theophron*. “As a child listens to its father’s voice, and as a man to

that of his betrothed, so do we hear God's voice in the Scriptures, and thereby learn the music of eternity which sounds through them. . . . If God's Word is presented to me in the hand of criticism as a squeezed lemon, God be praised that it becomes once more a fruit to me, growing as it does upon the tree of life!"¹ But however necessary Herder deemed a scientific treatment of the Bible, and learned researches into it and its history; and as little as he was disposed to put a stop to the criticism of Wettstein, Semler, Ernesti, and others, his opposition was very decided to all hypercriticism, and to all that artificial and dangerous exposition by which many at that time were commencing to torture the Bible. He who at first held fast to the opinion that the Scriptures must be understood and enjoyed with poetic feeling, could not find language sufficient to express his repugnance to the folly of those who would convert all Biblical history into mere poetry. "Sooner than this," he said, "I would denounce all poetry, and prefer in its stead the boldest and driest history."

Thus does his historic sense again hold the scales for the poetic. He beautifully continues: "It is certainly a fine thread which pervades the Old and New Testaments, especially in those passages where symbol and fact, history and poetry, mingle together. Rough hands can seldom follow it, much less unravel it, without breaking or tangling it, or without injuring either the poetry or history which, knitting themselves into it, constitute it a complete unity. It is truly said: 'To explain belongs to God,' or to that man on whom there rests the spirit of the gods, the genius of all ages, and, so to speak, the childhood of the human race. People set themselves to this work who really know nothing about it, and to whom nothing is more strange than poetic sentiment, particularly that of the East; and if they were the greatest dogmatists and critics in the world, the plants lose their color as they breathe upon them, and wither beneath their hands." Golden words, which should be inscribed in large characters

¹ *Werke zur Religion und Theologie*, Vol. X. p. 217 ff.

over the judgment-seat of many of the critics of recent times!

This poetic sentiment of the East demanded by Herder was possessed by himself in a remarkable degree, and he declared it everywhere in his writings. But it was not an acquired and studied feeling, but one that was self-experienced. Had Herder been favored with a journey to the East, what rich fruits the West might have reaped from it! But he had eastern feelings, though surrounded by western circumstances, because it was with a receptive oriental sense that he everywhere heard the key-notes of nature. His voyage from Riga to Nantes was therefore a living commentary, which aided him in part to understand Ossian and in part to comprehend the Bible. Thus he exclaims in his Diary of the journey: "What food is furnished for thinking on distant worlds by a vessel that moves on between heaven and the sea! Here, everything gives wings, and motion, and far-reaching atmosphere to thought,—the flapping sails, the ever-heaving ship, the rolling waves, the flying clouds, and the infinite atmosphere! On land we are pinned down to a deep point, and shut up in the narrow circle of one situation. The former is often a study-chair in a gloomy room, with the seat at a simple, hired table; or it is a pulpit, or a lecture-room platform. The latter is often only a little town, a public idol to which one is compelled to listen, or one routine employment, in which we are often repelled by custom and presumption. Now I step out all at once without books, writing, or employment of any kind. . . . I am rather thrown out; . . . and what a different view is presented to me! Where is the solid land on which I have often stood so safely, and the little pulpit and the professor's chair on which I have prided myself? Where are those whom I have feared and loved? O my soul, how will it go with thee when thou leavest this world? The narrow, solid, and pent-up center has vanished, and thou roamest in the air or swimmest in the sea; the world disappears from thee; it has vanished beneath thee! He has badly learned the business of a philosopher who cannot philosophize from nature without books and instruments. If

I had known this before, what a position I would have,—while sitting beneath the mast, out on the wide ocean,—for philosophizing on heaven, the sun, stars, moon, atmosphere, tempest, sea, rain, currents, fish, and depths of the sea, and for finding out the nature of all these things! To become the philosopher of nature,—that shall be thy standpoint with the young man whom thou teachest.” And this was the position at which Herder aimed in his elucidation of the Bible.

“Sailors,” said he, among other things, “are very much influenced by superstition and what is wonderful. Since they are compelled to pay attention to the wind and weather, to small signs and harbingers; and since their fate depends upon aerial phenomena, there is ground enough for their taking cognizance of signs and presages. Hence their reverent observation of the heavens, and their careful study of signs. . . . What man would not pray in the storm of a fearfully dark night, in the hurricane, and in all those places where pale Death lives? When all human help is wanting, man always relies on divine assistance. . . . However reckless a man may generally be, he will believe, and pray, and give expression to devout utterances when surrounded by the dread realities of the sea; nor will he ask how Jonah could be in the whale, for with God all things are possible. He will do this, though, under other circumstances, he may have thought he could make a religion for himself, and that the Bible is of no account. All the language that is used on shipboard, the morning and night watches, are couched in pious expressions, and are as solemn as a hymn from the cabin of the ship.”

Thus Herder reflected upon his great philosophy, exegesis, and theology while among sailors and breathing the atmosphere of the sea, just as Luther pondered over his Bible at the Wartburg, and indulged in theological thoughts while upon the chase. Such natural studies, in their highest view, have, in all ages, contributed more to the sound knowledge of divinity than the mere learning of the cloister. Those ideas which Herder expressed in his *Oldests Records of the Human Race*, through which he would deliver the Mosaic account

of the creation from the hands of those who looked upon it as a physical compendium, owe their very origin to these powerful impressions derived from the natural world. The rising of the sun, as he daily renews himself, is to him the eloquent picture of the first morning of creation; and as here nature gradually awakens, the clouds and vapors vanish, and dryness and solidity assume their fixed proportions; and as the world of plants once more revives, the beasts come forth from their hiding-places, and man again awakens to his senses, so were these to him the daily repeated theme of Genesis, in which he found the inspired truth of the six days' work. Herder looked at many other parts of the Old Testament in the same light. His first view is always poetical and vigorous, as, for example, in his *Spirit of Hebrew Poetry*, a work that gave a new impulse to the study of the Old Testament.

But we have only half sketched Herder's theological character if we find in him merely the acute interpreter of Old Testament symbols, or the eloquent defender of the oldest revelations. It is incumbent upon us, first of all, to become acquainted with his Christian convictions, his decided position in reference to the evangelical Protestant church, and its doctrines, institutions, and entire historical development. Herder has written no system of Christian doctrine,¹ and has only explained single books of the New Testament, and these the brief Epistles of James and Jude, the brothers of Jesus. High as his opinion was of Paul and his doctrines, he has almost left untouched the great treasure of his Epistles, which he considered the real doctrinal foundation and essence of evangelical truth. He saw more clearly than many of his times that Christ himself is the center of Christianity,—not his doctrines merely, but the person of Jesus Christ, whose living image he strove to impress upon the souls of his hearers and readers just as he bore it about in his own heart.²

¹ Such a work, however, was afterward selected from his writings, bearing the title of *Herder's Dogmatik*. Jena, 1805.

² "The kingdom of heaven," says he, in his aforementioned Weimar Installation Sermon, "Christ's feast, should not be a mere word and

But yet Herder here pursued his own course. He was bitterly opposed to all the controversies of the schools concerning the divine and human nature of the Savior, and their union in him; because he believed the death of all religion lay in these technical definitions. But he was fully convinced that Christ was both human and divine, and that these qualities were united, perfectly united, in his person. His two works, *On the Savior of Men according to the First Three Gospels*, and *On the Son of God, the Savior of the World*, according to John, may be thus comprehended: In the former, Christ appears more as the Son of man, the teacher and the prophet; in the latter, we find him to be the incarnate Word of God, or flesh become Logos. As there were those who made Jesus only a popular teacher, and, taking exception at the Gospel of John, regarded it contemptuously as a mine of mysticism, Herder thus indignantly opposes them: "This little book is a deep, still sea, in which the heavens are reflected, with the sun and stars; and if there are any eternal truths for the human race,—and there are such,—then you will find them in John."

He did not shudder at the depth of Christian mystery as soon as his prophetic spirit prompted him to look down into it; but he did not set about the work with that vain pretension of human sophistry which seizes upon holy things with rough and unskillful hands. And here again his orientalism was beneficial to him. He sought to elucidate the mystical method of expression as found in the New Testament, and its entire system of symbols, by the newly-discovered oriental source of the doctrines of Zoroaster. But he did not confine himself to the symbols; he penetrated to

sign, but a fact and a truth. We should taste and see what joys God has prepared for us in Jesus Christ, in the participation of his nature, and in his feast of glorious equality. In every event and fortune of life we should feel that we are brothers at one table, and that at the festive meal of our Beloved we can rest in the will and love of the great King of the world as in the bosom of our Father. The lofty quiet joy of Jesus, and the spirit which lives in the everlasting heaven, should speak through us, pass over to others, and silently testify of us."

the very essence, contents, and facts underlying the figurative surface. "It is very clear from the New Testament," said he, "that Christ must be viewed as the first living fountain of the world's purification, freedom, and happiness. There must be no such qualification as *as it were*, or *it was only on this wise*, but the fact must be embraced in its most active character."¹

As Herder elsewhere expressed his opinion that the Bible must be read humanly, so did he love to lay stress upon Christ's humanity and divinity as manifested in his human relations and circumstances. He everywhere directs attention to the fine and tender features of Christ's character as seen in the Gospels, and thus the divine speaks through the human. As Jesus was to him the revealer and representative of humanity among men, so is he still the representative of humanity, though it is likely that Herder magnifies the expression "Son of man" beyond its just meaning. If we look at the sum of what he wrote concerning Christ, perhaps he gives preponderance to the human side of his character, which sometimes passes quite over into the cosmopolitan. It may appear strange that Herder should often say that Christianity would continue if the name of its Founder were to disappear. Possibly the fruit would be enjoyed long after the tree had ceased to stand upon its roots. But there is a difference between dwelling beneath the shade of the tree, or even feeling that one is a branch of it and imbibes its strengthening sap, and receiving the fruit only at third hand. Herder must have known and felt this himself.

But why should we disguise a fact which every considerate and impartial reader of Herder's works must perceive,—that their author descended in his later theoretical labors, particularly in those inscribed Christian Writings, from that lofty height of ecstatic contemplation where we find him in his youthful productions, and that he approached the flat territory of a level and dull method of treatment, though without becoming flat himself. Every one who reads this writer attentively, and does not blindly follow him, will inevitably

¹ *Erläuterungen*, p. 66.

find himself compelled to refute Herder by Herder himself. Therefore, with all possible love and respect for him, as Gervinus has truthfully said in his *National Literature of the Germans*,¹ no one can be his friend without sometimes being his enemy. This has been the case with some of his most intimate friends, as with Hamann, who charged him with apostasy to his early principles. But we are as little disposed to agree with Niebuhr, that Herder ceased to be religious, as with Gervinus, who describes this period of coldness as the most brilliant part of his life. We are much more inclined to coincide with the publisher of Herder's works, J. G. Müller, who says in the Preface to the *Christian Writings*: "The spirit with which they have been written is pure, frank, eloquent, noble, respectful to every thing holy, and, in this respect, really Christian. Here, as everywhere else, Herder does not play the hypocrite. Christianity was to him a matter of the heart from his earliest youth. This will be felt by every reader of his works who has an ear for the language of the heart and of conviction. God's love and truth are the spirit of Christianity; and whoever possesses these, does not materially suffer if occasionally his opinion does not harmonize with the truth in less important matters. Who has done this in all cases?"

But in our estimate of Herder it is important to bear in mind what is apt to be overlooked to a certain degree, amid the changes and shades of his opinions: that he did not consider the essence of religion as doctrinal opinions, but separated them from it. While others made it a matter of the head for empty, outward show and use, he made it an affair of the heart alone. "Dogmas," said he, "separate and embitter, but religion unites. Words and syllables are deified; the intoxication lasts awhile, then it subsides, and nothing remains but the sharp scaffolding. But religion is a living fountain; you may dam it up and choke it, but it will break forth once more from its depths, again purifying, strengthening, and vitalizing itself." Herder perceived, before the truth was fully established by Jacobi and Schleiermacher, that

¹ Vol. IV. p. 466. Comp. Vol. V. p. 328.

"religion is a matter of the soul, of the inmost consciousness, and is the boundary of a man's opinions, . . . the most careful conscientiousness of his inner knowledge, the altar of his soul."

We would not delay to examine Herder's single opinions, or to find out where they seem to harmonize or disagree. He was not a scholastic dogmatist, and he would not be one, however highly he prized the scientific worth of correct definitions, in their place. Character was more highly prized by him than knowledge, and it was the same to him in the plain man as in the learned, and in the Christian as in the theologian. "I think," said he, "that our existence depends mostly upon character, not upon accumulated knowledge and sciences. These are only brightly-polished instruments which are capable of accomplishing much good, but also much that is useless and injurious. It depends upon the hand that uses them. It matters but little, for example, whether I accept a moral truth symbolically or in a general formulary; it is enough if I accept and follow it as a living verity."¹

We would now enter upon a closer examination of Herder's theological character, while we see him engaged in his practical, theological career as a preacher, pastor, church-manager, and educator. Certainly no one has ever called him a Pietist. But in common with true Pietism and its founder, Spener, and, in a broader sense, with Luther and the Reformers, he required of the minister more than a mere scientific and learned inclination or a speculative adjustment, because with him, piety, Christian piety, nurtured by the Bible, was the soul of theology. "A theologian," says Herder, "should have been well trained, and, from childhood, have studied the Holy Scriptures as teaching practical religion. He should have been early impressed by the example of devout and industrious parents; and, just as Timothy, should have striven to become a man of God, thoroughly furnished unto every good word and work. Vulgar, coarse, and barbarous manners, the low aims of avarice, pride, laziness, and other sins for which theology is sometimes chosen, are as injurious to the learning and understanding as to the feeling and application

¹ *Werke zur Philosophie*, Vol. VII. p. 194.

of truth. No ray of light can shine through an impure, hard, earthly vessel; much less can it become a reflector of light for others."¹

"Let prayer and the reading of the Bible," Herder counsels a young theologian, "be thy daily morning and evening food." "The perception of God and divine things is the true study of theology. . . . A peaceful ardor, a heart that is warm, innocent, modest, and throbs with high and noble impulses," was what he prized above all things in young men who dedicated themselves to the ministry.² And how high and noble was this office in his estimation! I have mentioned in my earlier lectures that the tendency of the times was to make everything practically useful, and how even the pious and well-meaning Spalding, promoted it in his work on the Usefulness of the Ministerial Office.³ Herder entertained a high personal opinion of the author, and never directly opposed the book itself. But it caused him to combat vigorously all depreciating views of the ministerial calling. He did this in his Provincial Letters. The patriarchs of the Old Testament, the priests and prophets, Christ and the Apostles, were, according to him, lofty historical archetypes for all ages, whom the humblest preacher of the Word must take as examples. He should strive to imitate them, and not submit so willingly to the demands of an effeminate age, which tends to secularize all things.

Such were Herder's opinions on the mission of the ministerial calling. With him, the office of the ministry is the office of God, and theology is the deepest root of all true wisdom. That preachers should only be teachers of wisdom and virtue, as the spirit of those times asserted, was a repugnant idea to Herder. "Why," he asks, "do you not descend from your pulpits, which are so many unprofitable professors' chairs? . . . What is the use of these Gothic edifices, altars, and other things? No! Religion, true religion

¹ *Anwendung dreier akademischer Lehrjahre. Werke sur Rel. und Theol., Vol. X. p. 162. Comp. p. 174.*

² *Briefe an Theophron. Werke sur Phil. u. Theol. Vol. X. pp. 210, 214.*

³ See *Vorlesungen*, Vol. I. p. 361. 2nd Ed.

must return, or a preacher will remain the most indefinite and idlest thing on earth. . . . Teachers of religion; true servants of the words of God! What have you to do in our century? The harvest is great, but the laborers are few. Pray the Lord of the harvest that he will send out laborers, who shall be something besides teachers of wisdom and virtue. And what is still more, help yourselves!" . . . "But in order to be assisted," continues the animated speaker, "the revelation of God as found in the Bible, and even in the entire history of the human race, must be believed, and thus ever return to the great center about which every thing revolves and clusters—Jesus Christ, the corner-stone and inheritance, the greatest messenger, teacher and person of the Archetype. From his very nature he is the corner-stone of salvation, in whom we would include every thing that can save the world." While the tendency of the times would sunder religious instruction from history, and regard the latter only as a collection of moral examples, Herder was very earnest in urging that the history of religion is the basis of religious education, upon which everything must be built. It was from the living germs of historical facts that God's beautiful growth revealed itself to him; its soil is revelation, its secret nourishment and strength are faith. The elucidation of the Bible should therefore be the preacher's chief employment, and not the bare preaching of morality and argument. "If morality," said he, "becomes the great business of the preacher, and the Bible and words of Jesus are only quoted to prove that they come from God as all truth proceeds from him, then farewell to Christianity, religion, and revelation. The names become courtly masks, and that is about all." He expressed the opinion that, if this were the case, the preacher might as well preach from Seneca and Epictetus as from the Bible.

But Herder totally disapproved of the common opinion, that spiritual eloquence should be shaped after worldly, heathen models, such as Demosthenes and Cicero, who dealt with very different themes, were heard by altogether different auditors, and aimed at quite another object. He therefore rejected all those theories of pulpit-eloquence which began to

abound in the contemporary literature, and was a pitiful resort of the times. In preaching, he kept aloof from all unmeaning artificial ornament, and adhered to the plain, ancient method of the Bible, which was the homily. From the testimony of those who saw and heard him, his appearance in the pulpit must have been very imposing, although he did not rely at all on the outward manner, but, on the contrary, seemed almost without emotion. But the impressiveness of his voice was great.

Let us hear a candid witness on this point. A witty writer of that time, Helfrich Peter Sturz, who had but little sympathy with Herder's writings, records the following in a letter: "I have heard Herder preach in Piermont, and I wish that all good Christians, who take the advice of their leaders in hating him in so orthodox a style, had heard him too. Our aristocratic congregation was not distinguished for the devotional spirit of the early church; and yet you should have seen how, in a few minutes, he chained all the flutter of diversion, curiosity, and frivolity to the stillness of a Moravian assembly. All hearts were opened; every eye hung upon him and rejoiced in unwonted tears; only the sighs of deep feeling could be heard through the entire congregation. My dear friend, no one preaches as he does, or religion would be to all what it really is,—the most trusty and valuable friend of man. In reading the Gospel of the day he became ecstatic, though without extravagance, and with that clear and lofty simplicity which needs no figures or arts of the schools to surpass the wisdom of the world. Nothing was explained, because all was clear; there was no indulgence in theological metaphysics, which teach neither how to live nor how to die, but how to wrangle more successfully. There was no strained devotion, no prejudiced attack upon hardened sinners, or anything that you could call a current article from the pulpit-manufactory. Nor was it a cold, heathen moral lecture, which seeks nothing but Socrates in the Bible, and can therefore dispense with Christ and Scriptures. But he proclaimed the faith of love first announced by the God of love, which teaches us to bear all things, believe all things, and hope all things; and, being independent of all the joys

and sorrows of the world, rewards with its peculiar rest and contentment. I think the pupils of the Apostles used to preach thus, who were not lost amid their dogmas, and therefore did not play with theological terms as children with their counting-straws. You know how much I differ from Herder the author. We go only a little way together, and then he flies from me, bright and quick as a rocket. But as a preacher and person, he is a man, and for the small journey that we can make together, he is one of my most delightful companions."

Herder did not write his sermons out in full, but only made sketches; and from them we derive the most of what we may call his sermons. But in all cases his sermons are very peculiar, and can be compared with no others. His intentional shunning of pulpit-language goes so far that he introduces all the expressions of common life and all foreign words that can be used. He employs the language of daily conversation, and sometimes gives expression to satire. Indeed, this goes so far, that, while reading some of his sermons, we can hardly believe they could have been delivered as sermons. If you would read them aloud for the edification of others, at almost every moment you would take some exception, though they are excellent if read alone. His pulpit-language is so individual, and so united with his person and the relations in which he labored, that it can by no means be recommended as a model. But Herder's sermons can all the more be commended for what they are in themselves; they go quite above what goes by the name of model-sermons, for their excellence does not consist in regularity or method, but in being so original, individual and characteristic as to defy imitation.²

¹ *Biographie*, Vol. II. pp. 254, 255. Note.

² "Herder's sermons," writes William von Humboldt, "were very attractive. Everybody found them too short, and wished them doubly long. But those I heard were not really edifying; they penetrated the heart but little (?). *Briefe an eine Freundin*, Vol. II. p. 233.—Comp. also Schiller's opinion, in the *Briefw. mit Körner*, Vol. I. p. 131. Berlin, 1847. "Herder's whole sermon," he says, "was like a conversation conducted by one man alone; it was without plan, popular, and

Herder's manner of preaching harmonized with his view of public services generally, and in this sphere his reformatory spirit was very effective. Nothing was more repugnant to him than empty forms and ceremonies, however beautifully surrounded or elegantly trimmed off. He says in one of his sermons: "It has become so fearfully common among men to confound worship and soul-sleep, piety and indolence of thought, that no one thinks any more with the preacher, but allows all his thinking to be done by the Spirit of God." He was therefore no defender of anything that could not arouse the thinking powers and moral activity of man, and only awakened dull and dark feelings. What he loved most in public services was simplicity, truth, clearness, and strength.

However, Herder did not think that public services were a mere thinking exercise or a dry moral institution; but his poetic feeling here directed him aright, especially in reference to the hymns and congregational singing. In my earlier lectures, when speaking of Paul Gerhard and the hymn-writers of the seventeenth century, I called attention to Herder's opinion, and I must again make mention of it.¹ While the most of the supposed Rationalistic theologians of Herder's day, as Spalding, Zollikofer and Dietrich, thought they were rendering a great service by adapting the old hymns as well as possible to the new methods of thought and language, Herder pursued a directly opposite course in the

natural. It was less a sermon than an intelligent conversation, a statement from practical philosophy, connected with certain details of civil life; opinions as becoming a mosque as a Christian church (?). But the delivery was as plain as the matter,—no pantomime, no play with the voice, but earnest and sober expression. He is unquestionably conscious of his capacity. Herder's sermon has pleased me better than any other I have ever heard; but I must frankly confess that no sermon pleases me in all respects." (Here falls to the ground a good part of the critique.) Schiller subsequently reproaches Herder for having preached upon himself after his Italian tour, and for having a *Te Deum* sung in his honor; and that the text, prepared by himself, had been distributed in the pews. See *Briefwe.*, Vol. II. p. 123. We hope that this belongs to the aforementioned gossip, in which the Weimar life of that period was so rich. A poor wealth!

¹ See *Vorlesungen*, Part. IV. p. 167. (2nd Ed.)

preparation of the Weimar Hymn-Book in 1778. Whenever possible, he retained the old hymns; he even purposely returned to the old and correct readings, and only made changes when actually necessary. He justifies his course in special cases.

"A hymn of truth and the heart," he thus expresses his views on the subject, "just as all of Luther's were, is no longer the same after another hand has altered it at will. What a change would come over our face if every passer-by could cut, pull, and change it at pleasure. Whoever is acquainted with the origin of these hymns and the history of our church, need not be informed that they bear the real stamp of our origin and of the purity of our doctrine; and no veritable and worthy descendant would give away the inherited seal and escutcheon of his ancestors for a picture picked up in the street, however beautifully painted. The doctrine, word, and witness of the church of God, and the strength of its origin and of the first healthy blossom of its growth, are of far more value to it than a better rhyme or a more beautiful but feebler verse. No Christian congregation comes together to exercise itself in poetry, but to worship God; to encourage each other with psalms and songs of praise, spiritual and lively hymns; to sing to the Lord from the heart. Now I take every true heart and conscience to witness, that the old hymns are clearly more suitable for such a purpose than those which are lately changed, or others altogether new. What soul, yea, what a whole breast, was in the songs of Luther, his coadjutors, and their successors,—so long as men were content to write genuine church-hymns and not fine poetry. Sprung from the heart, they go directly to the heart; they elevate, console, teach and guide it; so that one always feels that he is in the land of accepted truth, in God's church in a free place, far removed from his daily thinking and secular idleness. Being joined with many others who bow in union with us at the throne of grace, and inspired with the same confession, hope, and consolation, we feel that we are drawn off as by a current into another world, and can realize what it is to say: 'I believe in a Christian church and eternal life.'

"In all hymns that do not afford us this enlargement and elevation, and do not pervade us with the immediate feeling of truth and the voice of a higher world, we remain just where we were and what we were. And with all their good qualities, they are not church-hymns if we have better ones. . . . In those old hymns there is the true voice of solitude and the stillness of prayer in the closet, just as Christ would have it; and it may be seen from every line that only conscious need and solicitude could teach the writer of the hymn to pray thus. Such hymns enter the oppressed heart, and realize the truth of the old verse:

"If, in my need, I pray and sing,
My heart becomes a right good thing;
The Spirit tells me this must be
The foretaste of eternity."

"Thus many a weary pilgrim has often been refreshed by these hymns as by the voice of God and of the true witnesses of former ages. They are present in his memory, in his very heart and thought; and in the hour of grief the very line occurs to him which is most adapted to his mental state. Must it not be hard, therefore, to change hymns of this nature, to cut away living pieces from the memory and soul of so many good men? It pains us to see worldly books, which we read in early life, and which have grown up with us, altered into new editions; because it is as if somebody had given us something and taken it away again, for the very purpose of grossly deceiving us. But it grieves us far more when these changes rob us of our first child-like impressions of religion. What is good must always be good; gold must ever remain gold. If all art is inferior to high and noble nature, how much more inferior must it be to the highest and noblest nature,—the religion of God! Such hymns were the friends of our sweetest years, the companions of our life, the joy of our home, and our most trusty comforters in need. He who robs us of them is an enemy; or who, with every line that was once such a blessing to us, and which we no more find, lays on us the whip-lash.

“And those for whom these hymns have been changed are generally but little impressed by them. They sing with inner loathing or coldness, because they live in another world; but shall the children be denied bread on their account? I hold, therefore, that every country and province is fortunate which still enjoys its old form of service, and its old hymn-book, and whose congregations are not mangled every week-day and Sunday with improvements. The hymns of our church bear the witness of their worth in themselves; namely, the great impressions they have produced and the splendid achievements they have wrought. . . . But the best way to return our thanks is to restore the old times and the old spirit to our homes and churches, when there was an ardent and devout attachment to the old hymns, and when no head of a family commenced or closed the day without the beautiful united singing of his household circle. Though Luther calls the Old Testament a dull and sorrowful Testament, but the New,—which elevates us by its songs of praise,—a joyous one, we should nevertheless know how to go back from the New and joyous into the Old, for the voice of spiritual song is getting feebler every year, and is constantly sinking into silence. May God bring back again to us those hearty, glad-some days of the social singing of praises to God!”

However, Herder was no blind and partial worshipper of old hymns. He admitted that single annoying expressions and asperities of language should be changed, though carefully, imperceptibly, and mildly. He did not praise the old simply because it was old; and though he paid a tribute to it on the publication of the first edition of the Weimar Hymn-Book, 1778, he yet gave, in the edition of 1795, an admonition against its abuse. He remembered that many of those hymns which had been composed amid the calamities of religious conflicts and of the Thirty Years' War, do not find us in the same mental posture, and that we should even err if we affected a state foreign to us. Herder says: “It was from a holy zeal that many people of the olden time dealt in hymn-writing who were not naturally adapted to it. So soon as they could put syllables into rhyme, and play de-

voutly with the mysteries of religion, or with the cross and passion, or with some Biblical maxim, and thus give pathetic expression to their well-intended and heart-felt experiences, their hymns were caught up with applause by the people. Just here must every preacher carefully guard and inform his hearers concerning occasional variations of these old hymns from the true sense of the divine Word; for example, that it is not piety to play upon the name of "Little Jesus," or any other appellation of the exalted Savior, or upon his manger and swaddling-clothes, or his blood, stripes and wounds; that the faulty exaggerations of penitence as derived from the words of some ill-understood Psalms are as unevangelical as they are untrue when they are sung by a rough and jovial crowd; that, instead of groaning and complaining about the persecution of our enemies, our crosses and sufferings, we should pardon our foes in silent compassion, and be careful not to bring crosses and sufferings upon ourselves unnecessarily and improvidently; and, finally, that all abuse of this earthly life and all grumbling sighs over it, are mainly hypocrisy, the empty sound of words, and positive sinfulness. For God has placed us here, and we must await his bidding to call us away from life. Every teacher must warn his auditors against these and other abuses of hymns. He must show that such expressions were true, or at least pardonable, at other times and under other circumstances, but that there is now hardly one in a hundred who can sing them truthfully, or to whom the public and private singing of Christians has but little more force than empty sounds. To prove the matter, compare such hymns with the honest and heart-felt hymns of Luther, or with the words and explicit directions of Christ and his Apostles."

Herder would thus unite the two; he would combine what is good and substantial in the old church-hymns with a proper discretion and necessary caution in their use. He expresses himself on both points so decidedly that one can very easily believe what we have already intimated, — that we must often answer Herder by Herder himself. And most assuredly, we have heard in one place the Herder of 1778, and in the other

the Herder of 1795. There is a very decided difference of purpose, but no contradiction of principles. When we are dealing with this matter of hymns, is it not best to unite a proper respect for the purest of our good old hymns with that discreet perception and taste which can separate the gold from the dross? And if the early stage of the period of illuminism was defective because it ignored this gold, it is the duty of our age, which very rightly digs after it, to bear in mind that it is not all gold that glitters, and that not everything is to be treasured simply because it sounds old and almost forgotten. With all the richness of the old hymns, Herder knew how to prize the new. He perceived that our times demanded those hymns in which the newly-awakened consciousness expresses itself naturally, in a method suited to the times, and not affecting antiquity.¹

And to this purpose he contributed his share. Few of his poems, it must be confessed, have been appropriated to ecclesiastical use; and among them there are but few hymns which the congregation can sing. They are mostly cantos, or hymns and poems in a bolder form. Herder did not always strike the real tone of the church-hymn, for he lived in an age foreign to it. He would not imitate, and the most gifted can not produce what he is not aided in doing by his own times. But he succeeded very well in some transformations of old hymns, and we will close our present observations with his hymn on "Jesus," from Valentine Andreä, which once more calls to mind his inmost convictions concerning Christ:

"Greetings to Thee, loveliest Flower,
Thou Flower of all mankind!
To Thee all the good ever flee,
And in Thee ever find,
God's grace and heaven's glory!
To Thee I go; would I had earlier gone,
Then had I sweet peace in life's early dawn.

Long have I vainly gone astray,
And falsely sought for rest;

¹ Even the extremely sensitive Wm. von Humboldt coincides with these sentiments on hymns. Comp. *Briefe an eine Freundin*, Vol. II. p. 262.

With tearful eyes I see myself,
With sorrow in my breast.
I'm filled with pain and anguish,
Because, O Blessed One, I sought Thee not;
And thus myself I therefore seldom sought.

How could I gain, without Thine aid,
Rest for a weary mind?
With troubled soul and burdened breast,
But broken cisterns could I find.
Men never get any thanksgivings
For having cast away their precious souls,
So long, so long as eternity rolls.

I said: 'To Nature I will go
For there is God made known;
Among the flowers I will find
The God of flowers shown;
And looking about, I ever said:
'Father in heaven, now be Thy name revealed;
Here be the grandeur of the truth unsealed!'

Every where I saw the proofs
That He was near at hand;
I read Him in the vale and cliff,
In every grain of sand;
I viewed on every side the traces
Of His presence. Hast thou his power reviewed,
And with His presence is thy soul imbued?

Greetings to Thee loveliest Flower,
Of God the great impress!
Around Thee, lilies and roses
Shine, clad in their beautiful dress;—
And Thy wreath of thorns is all glorious.
Why should I still wander in fear,
Since God, whom I sought, is ever so near?

Come, each one burdened and weary!
Thee he welcomes as His guest;
To thee He will give sweet innocence,
Love, joy, and happy rest.
No worthy boon will He withhold;
The rest of God wilt thou ever receive;
God in Man! Give that offering, and Live!"

LECTURE IV.

HERDER'S POSITION TOWARD PROTESTANTISM.—HIS CONSERVATIVE TENDENCY.—STRICT VIEWS ON CHURCH DISCIPLINE AND THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS.—HIS POSITION TOWARD PHILOSOPHY.—IMMANUEL KANT AND THE "CRITIQUE OF PURE REASON."—THE RELATION OF THIS PHILOSOPHY TO CHRISTIANITY.—RAPID INCREASE OF KANTIANISM.

Although we have employed more than two lectures upon Herder,—much of whose portrait yet remains to be viewed,—we must dwell a few moments longer upon him in the present connection. Indeed, it is only after Herder's character has been portrayed that we are enabled to understand his place in the historical development of evangelical Protestantism, and can answer the question: What link was he in the chain of this development? We have already seen that Protestantism is the spirit which contends for progress and greater freedom and clearness, and courageously pursues this, its own course, in spite of all the animosity and jealousy of ignorance; but in the very midst of this progress it always looks about with great care for the safe ground once laid. It does not take pleasure in wild protestation, but greatly prefers to cultivate and develop rather than destroy; and for this reason it prudently opposes, as far as it can, all stormy and violent reform and revolution. This being the nature of Protestantism in general, we have in Herder the picture of a true Protestant,—a man who was perfectly adapted to the century in which he lived. We find him to be at once a man of progress and conservatism, of the new and of the

old time, as far as he could bring forth the new and old from his treasury, and unite them spiritually. But this must have been very apparent from our account of his theological system, and of his theological feeling and labors, as given in the last lecture.

Herder is strictly orthodox in opposition to the innovators and illuminists, while he is a bold innovator in opposition to the rigidly orthodox. Vulgar Rationalism makes him a mystical Supernaturalist, and vulgar Supernaturalism declares him to be a dangerous Rationalist, against whom we cannot be too much on our guard. Thus it is, and so must it always be, wherever a truly reformatory mind lives and operates. Such was the case with Luther, who seemed to the pope to be a rebel, an enemy of peace and order; but to the rebels he appeared to be the flatterer of royalty and a religious despot. There will always be people to whom true Protestantism will appear too broad, and others to whom it will seem too narrow. Therefore, to charge it with an incompleteness devoid of principle would be extremely unjust. The true medium to which Protestantism, and even Herder, in his complete character, belongs, is distinguished from the false medium, which often terms itself pure and right, by this unfailing mark: The true medium never vacillates, without principle or character, between the extremes, but occupies a solid, self-conscious place above them; it neither turns to the right nor to the left; and does not harshly and inflexibly repel every accommodation, but yields where it is proper, in order that it may cling to what is invaluable with death-like tenacity. It knows full well, however, what it does, and despite all its apparent deviation in this or that direction, never once loses its equilibrium or its purpose.

If we would have a clearer estimate of Herder's Protestant sentiment, we must regard him somewhat longer in the practical sphere where we left him in the last lecture. We became acquainted with him as a preacher and religious poet and, at the conclusion, gave his views on church-hymns. It is just at this last point that his real Protestant sentiment revealed itself. On the one side was his Lutheran heart,

which felt inwardly grown together with the roots of Protestantism, was in union with the vital nerves of the Reformation, and would not permit the treasure of ancestral faith to be torn away by any wind of fashion or prevailing taste. On the other side was his broad, open, considerate and unperverted vision, which knew as well how to detect errors in the past as good qualities in the present, and for this reason would acknowledge no limit to the productiveness of the Christian life and mind, but always anticipated and waited for greater progress in the distant future—indeed, it aided in bringing it to pass. But we have not exhausted Herder's entire practical efficiency in describing him as a preacher and hymnist. We have yet to notice the great field of ecclesiastical guidance which lay open to him as general superintendent, the sphere of ecclesiastical business, and above all, the reform of the school system to which he so fondly contributed his share during his official incumbency. Here we behold Herder's conservative spirit in all its grandeur, carefully guarding the old and the authentic in a period which thought itself quite late enough in dispensing with its old possessions.

From Herder's relations at Bückeburg we know how conscientiously he discharged his pastoral duties. But it was in Weimar, literary Weimar, that he dared to say a word on the old-fashioned institution of ecclesiastical discipline. And here he placed himself upon the safe ground of old and authenticated Protestantism. What was it but the indulgence, the sale of sins for gold, that had necessitated the Reformation? What had once proceeded from the pope and the Romish church was now being produced by the usurping, frivolous spirit of the times. Many rich and educated people believed that they could absolve themselves from ecclesiastical discipline by their money. Herder protested against all this. "The penance and censorship exercised by the church," he thus expresses himself, without caring for the freethinking multitude, "taken in the sense in which they were understood in Biblical, apostolical times, when public offenders were excluded from the fellowship of the church and repentant sinners were received back again, must not be abrogated, in

my opinion, nor converted into something else than what they should be, just so long as we have the Bible, and believe, or seem to believe, in the Third Article, which concerns the body of believers, as organized through the forgiveness of sins. From this body no class should be excluded, no one should be dispensed with; for Christianity makes no distinction of classes. Soldier, courtier, prince and minister are Christians; no sin can be absolved by money, and no prince can release from sins or make them a privilege."¹

But strict as Herder's views were on this point, they were equally strict in reference to the license of the press and the abuse of the freedom of instruction. It can not be out of place in the present day, when the free Gospel and free press have become the cry of an immoderate popular tendency, to communicate Herder's opinions on the subject. He says: "I believe that no ancient lawgiver would have dreamed of giving such freedom to all that is now termed science without the careful oversight and control of the state. It is undeniable that the sciences are abused by insolence, luxury, and licentiousness; and therefore they injure the morals and thinking of a society. Whoever would publicly excuse blasphemy, or, which is but little better, reproaches cast upon sound reason, honesty and virtue, even praises these sins. The state is therefore not only at liberty, but is compelled, to protect and guard its members against corruption. All men are agreed on certain points of healthful and happy thinking; but the government must not permit itself to be controlled by this excessive license, or it will go to ruin. This is undoubtedly the case, for the eggs of such insects breed corruption, and the future brood will not be satisfied with anything less than universal destruction. A body that is forsaken by the controlling mind, whose pulse is motionless and whose feeling has ceased, will unquestionably become the prey of corruption. Let us suppose that blasphemous, corrupting, and infamous works are permitted in the state. On whom will they exert their influence? On none but the weak, feeble, and defenceless portion of the people; and just here will their

¹ *Biographie*, Vol. II. p. 149 ff.

power be most injurious. The solid, thoughtful, honest, and laborious citizen will throw such things contemptuously away; and you need give yourself no care about him. But the idle weakling, the faint woman, the inexperienced young man, and perhaps even the innocent child, read them. The more refined, beautiful, and attractive these writings are, the more extensively they are read, and the greatest injury is inflicted upon these delicate members of the nation. . . . The state is the mother of all children; and it should care for the health, strength, and innocence of each of them.”¹

“Every science,” says Herder, “is abused. Philosophy can become so unreasonable, criticism so unmeaning, insolent and knavish; history so false and distorted in its application; and authorship so despised, worthless and mercenary, that the government dare not be unconcerned when it sees so many talents perverted, true science so reduced and false so increased, so many obstacles placed before the former and so many lurking-places prepared for the latter, and, finally, the ruin of every good effect of literature.” Does it not seem as if Herder spoke these words in our own time and to our own generation? But I am as unable to find anything illiberal here as in his views on circulating libraries and theatrical plays, both of which he would subject to rigid censorship. I can not therefore agree with Gervinus, who, in his *National Literature of the Germans*,² compares these and similar strictures of Herder with the blustering philippics of the general superintendents of the seventeenth century. I certainly perceive in them that spirit which belongs to the genius of evangelical Protestantism,—the spirit of training, order, and conformity to law. Yea, I perceive in them the spirit of Luther. And it was there that Herder felt himself in unison with Luther;³ and he conscientiously called upon the Reformer as a witness to prove that a change of government was not necessarily an improvement of government, that the

¹ In the concise work: *Vom Einfluss der Regierung auf die Wissenschaften. Werke zur Phil. u. Gesch.*, Vol. VII. p. 423.

² Vol. IV. p. 481.

³ *Briefe zur Beförderung der Humanität*, Vol. X. p. 352 ff.

authority of the rabble was the most oppressive tyranny, and that it should be the glory of the Germans not to use foolish gibberish when the great question is one of loyalty and faith, and old discipline and morals? Herder very properly sought to build up a good popular sentiment from beneath, and to lay the basis of it in the schools; for, with him, education was the impulsive power of the nations.

Herder's opinions on teaching, which he elaborated particularly in his school-addresses, and in which he by no means subscribed to skeptical philanthropinism, will receive our attention when we come to speak of the revolution that occurred in education in the last decades of the century. We will now part with Herder for a time, yet without losing him altogether from our eye; for, as a great character already known to us, he will hereafter serve as a standard of comparison with other great men, when we can return from our wanderings in the pleasure grounds to him whom we placed as a statue at the entrance.

We take up the thread of history in another place. As I showed at the beginning that we must follow the course of later German philosophy, we must now turn to the point where its development began. It may appear strange that I should speak of Kant after Herder; for they were contemporaries, and Kant was the elder, having been the teacher of Herder. But I have done this designedly, since Herder was not only a pupil of Kant but also entered the lists as his adversary; and he was more identified, by his whole character, with the influences and memories of the olden time than Kant was, for the latter broke loose from them as far as he could. Besides, Herder, though younger, had acquired a literary reputation before Kant's Critique excited universal attention. Thus Herder had the seniority of Kant as an author. But, finally, my chief reason was, that, since Herder's character was more versatile and interesting, it seemed most fitting that he should take the precedence; for Kant lays his great claim upon us by his system, which is quite distinct from his personality. I thought it hazardous to begin with a system, that is, with something lifeless and abstract. I would first

lay such a foundation as is furnished by Herder. Having been warmed and strengthened by him, we will now, for the first time, approach the marble bust of the great thinker.

Immanuel Kant was born at Königsberg on the 22nd of April, 1724. He was the son of a saddler, and received a strict training from his parents. His mother, particularly, exerted a pious, Christian influence upon him. Kant has thus expressed himself concerning her: "She was an amiable, affectionate, devout and exemplary woman, who attracted her children to the fear of God by her pious instruction and virtuous example. She often led me to the suburbs of the city and directed my attention to the works of God; she expressed herself in pious joy concerning his omnipotence, wisdom, and goodness; and impressed upon my heart a profound reverence for the Creator of all things. I shall never forget my mother, for she implanted in me the first germ of goodness; she opened my heart to the impressions of nature; she awakened and enlarged my ideas; and her instructions have exercised a permanently wholesome influence upon my life."¹

According to some writers, Kant's mother adopted the prevalent Pietism, an opinion shared by Pastor Schultz, one of Kant's earliest teachers. At all events, it is probable that the strict conscientiousness which distinguishes the Kantian system, with all its defects, arose more from these earliest impressions of his training than from the later philosophical mental processes of the mature man. His father always taught him truthfulness, and considered falsehood a mortal sin. This had its influence in forming young Kant's strict view on the sinfulness of *white lies*. But his mother desired holiness with truthfulness; and, as Kant's biographer says, the craving of his practical reason for holiness was a demand in which he was greatly aided by his good mother.¹

It was by the advice of the pious preacher and gymnasial director, Schultz, that the parents permitted their son to study; and Schultz magnanimously assisted them. Kant very

¹ From Jachmann's *Leben Kant's*, p. 99. Königsberg, 1804.

¹ Borowski, *Leben Kant's*, p. 23. Königsberg, 1804.

soon manifested an extraordinary memory. He could recite *verbatim* long selections from the classics, and also made great progress in mathematics.

He entered the University of his native city in 1740. It is said that he devoted himself to theology, on which he heard some lectures; but his life soon took a different direction. He discharged the duties of a private tutorship in the country for a time, but it was neither adapted to his talents nor inclination. He could not let himself down to the comprehension of children, and he was afterwards accustomed to say that, perhaps, there could not be found in the world a worse tutor than himself. But he made the more diligent use of his quiet country residence for advancement in his studies, and here he first conceived the outlines of his later system. He had not altogether forsaken theology as yet, and even preached a couple of times in rural churches. But he soon forsook the pulpit and every clerical employment, and gave himself up to academic labors. Having returned to his native city, he received the master's degree in 1755, and commenced to deliver philosophical lectures. Through fifteen years he occupied this precarious position of a lecturing master; at the end of which time, 1770, he received the professorship in ordinary of mathematics. But he soon exchanged it for logic and metaphysics.

He had long ago appeared as an author, chiefly in the department of applied natural sciences. Also in philosophy he had already struck his own course, in antagonism to the former Wolfian method. He became a member of the Royal Academy of Berlin in 1787; but received less of such distinctions than were accorded to many learned men of his age. Yet he attached no great value to them.

His manner of living was extremely simple; outwardly, it might be called poor. He did not make long journeys, and never went more than twenty-eight miles from Königsberg. He never saw any larger city, nor even reached the neighboring city of Danzig. He was never married, and seldom saw his nearest relatives, even his brothers and sisters. He gathered only a few select and tried friends about him.

Otherwise, he lived with his servant, in the strictest domestic and daily order, from which he scarcely ever varied. He had but little taste for the fine arts. He gave no attention to paintings or engravings, and did not love music. He considered this last an injurious pastime. He held that young daughters would be far better to have the instructions of a cook than elaborate lessons in music and dancing. The great philosopher prized cookery as an art. In conversing with ladies it was his favorite theme, while he avoided all philosophical discussions with them. He loved cards; and in social circles he manifested a lively good-humor and pleasantry far removed from all pedantry. His intellectual powers waned very perceptibly toward the close of his life. The man who had given new laws to the thinking world fell into a sort of imbecility, so that he could no longer write his own name correctly. He laid aside his professorship in 1794, and died on the 12th of February, 1804. His emaciated body was thoroughly dried up at his death; that intellectual blue eye, which gave life to a form otherwise not imposing, was quenched. His lifeless tenement was interred in the crypt of the University Church.

As for his character, we can speak in high terms of his candor, truthfulness, and lofty sense of propriety. Although he collected a considerable property, because of his unmarried state and simple life, he did not attach much importance to worldly possessions. He was an enemy to all idleness and begging, yet he was benevolent to the worthy poor. He seldom attended public worship, because he considered it only an outward incentive to morality. He, the advanced thinker, believed that he had no need of it; but he held that the masses, not accustomed to self-thought or self-training, required the institution of the church. He therefore conscientiously attached great value to all religious institutions, and despite all his liberal views on government, remained a sincere friend of public order, and scorned all violent revolutions. We will treat of his religious convictions in connection with his system. Thus much, however, for the present. "Gentlemen," he said on one occasion, "I am not afraid

of death; I shall know how to die. I assure you before God that, if I felt that I would die this very night, I would raise my hands, fold them, and say: 'God be praised.'"¹ As ignorant admirers of Kant had placed him on a level with Christ, he replied to their idolatry by confessing that he bowed humbly before His name, and looked upon himself, when compared to Christ, as a mere bungler trying to explain him as best he could.²

Having given this brief portraiture, which certainly appeared necessary beside that of Herder, if I should now unfold to you the system for which you are waiting as the most important matter, I would be conscious of the difficulty of my undertaking, for Kant himself despaired of making his doctrines popular, or of even introducing them into the circle of cultivated women. I believe, moreover, that an exposition of his system would not only be unnecessary, but even out of place at present; and therefore I shall be content to communicate the results, so far as they affect religious and moral life. For it is these alone that have ministered to ecclesiastical development, and, by affecting the character of Protestant faith, have exerted an influence upon others.

Theologians and philosophers of all confessions had hitherto speculated and contended at random on divine and human matters; and, from propositions which they accepted as certain and demonstrated, they deduced further conclusions, concerning which there arose new discussions, that were all the more animated as each party believed itself the possessor of the truth. But Kant bore no lance into this conflict. While these men made at each other, he went, as it were, around the boundary-lines and examined the battle-field, to see if he had solid ground. He proved his weapons to learn if they were trustworthy, and asked how far the arrows would go, and how deeply the swords would pierce. It was enough. For, after the example of an English philosopher, David Hume, he subjected man's intellectual powers to a new trial, while he laid before himself the questions: What can man know?

¹ Wasianski's *Leben Kant's*, p. 52.

² Borowski's *Leben Kant's*, p. 86. Note.

How far does the strength of his reason extend? Into what regions will it guide him with safety? How far can he trust himself to its guidance?

In his work entitled *Critique of Pure Reason* he pursued this inquiry, and arrived at the conclusion that everything which is beyond time and space, outside the forms of our sensuous knowledge, is not a subject for pure thought. As it was once a discovery in the visible world that our earth is not the center of the universe, about which the sun and all the planets revolve, but that it is only a small point in the universe, which, like all others of its kind, revolves about its central sun, thus bringing no small humiliation to our human pride, so was this discovery in the kingdom of the invisible world,—in the kingdom of thought.¹

Thus he drew in the wings of speculation, that had been outstretched over the whole heavens, and called together the powers that were being spent in controversy on all sides, so as to review them, and collect and concentrate all the strength into the brightly-burning focus of real thought. And who will deny that there was a more complete victory in this acquired self-knowledge and self-limitation of reason than in all the doubtful conquests in a department, which, with its former breadth and circuit, man could not claim as his own? What was safe and tangible seemed, at all events, to be preferable to the unseen and intangible.

This discovery of Kant cannot, of course, be elevated to a mathematical certainty, as the earlier one of his countryman, Copernicus, because it could not be achieved by any

¹ Schenkel (*Relig. Zeitkämpfe*, p. 186. Hamburg, 1847) contrasts Kant with Copernicus: "According to Copernicus, as is well known, the sun revolves about the earth; but according to Kant, on the contrary, the outer world must be governed by man, and appear just as the laws of human thought require it." But we would rather term Kant a second Copernicus; and he considers himself as such when he says (Preface to *Kritik der reinen Vern.*, 3rd Ed. p. xvi.): "As the explanation of the planetary motions did not seem satisfactory, Copernicus proposed that it would be better, if he 'should let the spectator turn himself and leave the stars at rest.'" As Copernicus would not confound apparent and real motion, so with Kant in the field of the intellect.

exterior apparatus, and no other glasses could be used save those which were polished by the Kantian Criticism, the categories established by himself. But it was of great advantage that the mind of man was turned toward himself, and directed to the examination of his own strength. The old inscription over the temple of wisdom: "Know Thyself," was renewed, and shone as a guiding pillar of fire through the darkness in which many of the ancient and modern philosophers had been groping. Therefore, many have termed Kant a second Socrates, whose very ignorance was of more worth than the knowledge of the Sophists. All the scholastic edifices of an arbitrary, meditative and subtle reason were shaken to their very foundation by the criticism of Kant. And when we consider the history of Protestantism, we cannot help perceiving in that criticism an element of Protestantism, so far as it opposed the assumptions of reason, or rather of the understanding (that took its place beside pure reason), with the same boldness that the Reformers manifested in their attacks upon the old scholasticism. But it was a great misfortune that, after the new scholasticism had been overthrown with the old, there should soon spring up another form in its place, and then a still later one; so that, instead of real self-thought, the mere swearing upon the master's word, and the repetition of misunderstood forms, have become more mischievous since the days of Kant than ever before.

Yet we must first hear the man himself, and ask the meaning of his philosophy and its application to religion.

When Kant designated what was within time and space as the subject of pure thought, he did not mean that what was beyond them had no existence,—that there is nothing infinite and eternal beyond them. It would surely have been a wretched philosophy to shut up man in finitude. He by no means asserts that eternal things should be the theme of human inquiry and scientific proof, and thus he really leaves faith, as such, untouched, although he does not make use of the expression *faith*, because he has no appropriate place for it in his system. Consequently, Kant does not allow that God and immortality are articles of faith, but postulates of

practical reason, which he distinguishes from pure or theoretical reason. God and immortality, in their real sense, cannot be demonstrated; but man is led to the verity of both these truths from his practical, moral standpoint. What is certain to man within the confines of time and space is his moral nature, his moral freedom, his will. In this self-determining will lies his pledge of immortality and the evidence that there is a God, who is the rewarder of good and evil. Man is a free, moral being, and bears within himself his calling to live according to his moral nature, even when his natural inclination to comfort and happiness comes in conflict with his sense of duty. This undeniable moral necessitation, which the unlearned Christian would only denominate conscience, was called by Kant the "categorical imperative."¹ Man must follow this unconditionally, he should do good for its own sake, not with any reference to this or that reward, or from any fear of punishment. Thus morality is reduced to a means, while it should be an end.

We have said already that Kant by no means denied the doctrines of immortality and future judgment. On the contrary, he demanded them from the standpoint of practical reason; and in reason he based his faith in God and immortality. Because man's pursuit of morality, with his natural impulse toward happiness, frequently leads to opposition and dispute, a reconciliation must take place in the future. There must be an all-wise, just and merciful Being, who can and will perfect this reconciliation. But with this light shed on practical reason, theoretical reason must inexorably demand, according to Kant, the fulfillment of the moral law, even if there were no such future judgment. Man must act under all circumstances in a way worthy of a free moral nature, and what he ordains as a law for others must be the same thing for himself. Our morality cannot be made to depend on promises or threats; it contains its value in itself.

Kant would therefore not explain religion away as some-

¹ He distinguishes the categorical imperative, which no one can withdraw from with honor, from the hypothetical, which is man's own pleasure and the principle of mere maxims.

thing superfluous, but emancipate morality from it, and place it upon an independent basis. True morality should not be required as a support to religion; nor should it be controlled by religious, but by purely moral, motives. If these religious motives are really nothing more than the hope of reward or the fear of punishment, even though they be eternal rewards and punishments, Kant had a perfect right to make morality independent of them; for Christianity teaches us not to do good for the sake of the reward, nor to avoid evil for fear of punishment. It allows not the slavish spirit of calculation and fear, but the free spirit of adoption. But there is nothing in the Kantian system on this child-like spirit. The categorical imperative is assuredly not that spirit of adoption by which we cry, "Abba, Father!" Even were it without any exterior and authoritatively given law, it now is, and ever will be, a law of itself, a mere "Thou shalt,"—a decree of iron necessity. The Kantian doctrine leads us, however, to the same view whither the Apostle Paul conducts man; namely, that there is one law in our mind and another in our members, which latter contends with the law in our mind. But in answer to the cry: "O wretched man that I am! who shall deliver me from the body of this death?", this system can give no other response to the free man than: "Physician, heal thyself!"

Kant was correct in not making religion a support of morality, if we would understand by it a mere exterior support, a holding-place for moral weakness. This would not only be an invasion of the dignity of morality but also of religion itself; for the latter does not minister simply to exterior ends, nor is it the bugbear and scarecrow for the godless, or the bait for the greedy. But there is a vast difference between the outward support against which a tree barely leans, and the root from which it derives its nourishing sap and impulse for growth, and from which it springs forth with healthy vitality. That religion is this root and morality, and derives from it its purest conditions of life, is wanting in the doctrines of Kant. But he has excellently shown that external righteousness does not make man righteous, and gives

him no title to salvation, and that conformity to law is not morality.

Here he stands on the basis of Christianity in opposition to legal Judaism, and on the basis of evangelical Protestantism in opposition to the righteousness by works of the Romish church and of many of the later so-called moral philosophers, who state man's happiness as his highest aim,—eudemonism. Kant has here removed a great difficulty. But if we inquire further for the fountains of morality, for the fundamental force and impulse of all virtue, he then points man to himself. That grace which produces life, and the spirit of God which communicates itself to man, supporting and elevating him, are objects for which Kant finds no place either in theoretical or practical reason. That vigorous and free life of faith, as it conquered the world in the days of the Apostles, and as it was manifested in Luther during the time of the Reformation, could not draw its breath in the air-pump of the categorical imperative. That celestial influence which heaven has ever awakened and fostered among men was dissolved in the process of a reasonable life, conducted according to unchangeable laws. We are reminded of Herder's figure of an automaton, whose limbs are moved by the touch of the exhibitor, and in which there is no soul with its divine life.

Kant, however, recognized a God, a real, self-conscious, personal God, and not a mere world-soul. But this God of Kant is, in fact, too far outside the world, too much in the future. He seems to exist merely for future retribution, and is waiting until that time, as an inactive spectator of human actions. The Kantian God is the strict judge who will hold the scales of justice in his hand at the judgment, but he is not one who gives weight to our actions. He is in reality like the man in the Gospel who gathers where he did not sow, who inexorably demands without giving strength to meet the demand. For, on the supposition that there are individuals who are as far advanced in rational self-respect and self-conquest as the wise man may demand, a few of these individuals may all the more envelop themselves in the philo-

sophical mantle of their own righteousness, and, in their own moral pride, elevate themselves above the multitude; but the majority, having been elevated to a giddy height, despair of success, and perish by the force of their own despondency. And yet Kant applies this demand to all men; that positiveness, however, with which he requires morality of man, and by which he estimates the true worth of man, is great and worthy of honor. As later philosophers appear to calculate the value of man according to his advancement in thinking, and in proportion as his intellectuality, dialectical dexterity, versatility, and originality overspread everything, Kant, on the other hand, did not hold the happiness of life to consist in intercourse with great minds like his own, but with honest souls, among whom his poor servant, Lampe, always found a hearty welcome.¹ This is humility and Christianity. Such an opinion would have been pleasing to Luther.

On looking further at the relation of the Kantian system to Christianity, we may ask: Would not the conviction of our ignorance of divine things and of the limitation of our reason have led us to the acceptance of a revelation? One may say to Kant: "Because man cannot discover the divine by the aid of his reason, as you have shown, we should doubly thank God if he has permitted us to know what we could not find out of ourselves." And some Kantians, though not Kant himself, have adopted this very natural conclusion, in order to harmonize their philosophical system with the truths of revelation; for, according to him, the idea of a supernatural revelation from this premiss is one of those very things of which reason knows nothing. Wherefore, he would ask, as a consequence of his supposition, should the human mind know that to be really a revelation which is declared to him as such? What are the safe criteria for perceiving such a revelation, and for distinguishing truth from falsehood? Where are the limits of the natural and the supernatural? Where does miracle begin, and nature cease? To all these questions neither reason nor Kant gives any answer. He asserted that the possibility of a revelation and of miracles

can neither be affirmed nor be denied upon safe grounds. Therefore, the essence of religion cannot depend upon the acceptance or denial of this question. Since, with Kant, everything depends upon morality, so is the moral quality of a religious doctrine the measure of its truth and the criterion of every revelation. Kant confessed, with perfect confidence, that, of all existing religions, Christianity corresponds most purely to the moral requirements of religion, contributes most to them, and aids chiefly to the advancement of morality. He therefore did not give an undue prominence to only the doctrines of Christianity, as some of his followers have done; but, to him, its historical principles were also important. This was true of the person of Christ. He believed that the mass of men should have their ideal in the historical Savior, in whom pure morality is realized and to whom it can cling; that it was proper that an institution for ecclesiastical fellowship should be given, by which that may be made accessible to the mass of men which the wise man can independently create from the resources of his own reason. He thought it of great value that there should be an idea of a kingdom of God on earth, and of an ethical union of men for the attainment of the highest moral ends; but yet man must carefully distinguish between the real nature of religion and its priestly and stagnant character. While Voltaire scoffed at the Bible, this more profoundly wise man recognized in it an excellent means for the propagation of moral truths. The preacher and the instructor of the people should make the Bible as useful as they can. But the preacher should be less careful, Kant thought, to penetrate the original meaning of the Scriptures,—which may be left to the learned theologian,—than to explain them according to the existing necessity of his hearers; yet he should guard against the danger of deriving a meaning from them which they were not originally intended to convey. This last was a dangerous principle, which led to the most arbitrary treatment of the Bible, and to the adoption of any measures that might promise to be of moral utility.

It was in common with Lessing, and in opposition to the

universally destructive neology of the times, that Kant discovered a germ of deep truth even in the old ecclesiastical doctrines, which he wisely urged should be used. He therefore endeavored to restore to honor even certain dogmas which had been cast overboard, as in conflict both with reason and revelation. The doctrine of original sin is one. Kant knew too much of human nature to revel with Rousseau. He could not harmonize with the philanthropinistic view, that man is good and innocent by nature. With him, man is rather a selfish being, intent upon his own interest and happiness. This he termed "radical sin." Goodness is not given to man by nature; he must be trained and cultivated to it. Here, again, the Kantian and ecclesiastical doctrines diverge, for Kant held that man must finally become, by his own efforts, what the Scriptures and doctrines of the church declare he can become only by divine agency.

Grouping what we have now said, we can affirm, that Christ, Christianity, the Bible, the church, and the doctrines of the church, were not empty sounds to Kant; that they were not to him what they were to the common Deists, a subject of scorn and contempt. No, they were themes that received his respect, or at least such as he deemed worthy of his serious reflection and most careful investigation. The master did not reject many things which his disciples afterwards rashly condemned. His conscience would not permit him to tear from the hearts of the people that which constituted the support of their morality. But these supports were, in his opinion, only an assistance, mere crutches or levers for those who could not yet raise themselves. Biblical religion and Christianity were not living truths to him as they were, for example, to Herder; and how could he communicate to others what was not vital in himself? But we honor him for not detracting from them, or at least for not doing it intentionally. But he could have prevented his disciples from wandering, when the master stood still. Though we may doubt that one of his most learned disciples, Fichte, expressed the opinion that Christianity would outlive itself in five years, similar expressions are not wanting on the part

of others.¹ While his moderate admirers were content to compare him to Socrates, there were more enthusiastic votaries who raised him above Christ, or applied to him the words of Creation: "God said: 'Let there be Light,' and there was"—the Kantian philosophy.²

We have seen how Kant rejected such idolatry. Like all truly great men, he did not attempt to train up a crowd of imitators, but to excite great minds. He often repeated in his lectures, that he did not wish to teach his hearers philosophy, but how to philosophize; that he would not commit to their hands a complete system, but exercise their minds in thinking, and place them in a condition to find out the truth for themselves. But how could he control waves that would ever overflow the banks? It is astonishing that a system so apparently dry and abstract as the Kantian, and which scarcely one in a hundred could understand, should receive such strong support. But yet it did. Kant's system, or, as it was termed, the Critical Philosophy, very soon became a party-name about which theologians, jurists, teachers, and physicians clustered. This is a proof that those ideas which Kant excited lay in the spirit of the times; that he embodied in a compact, scientific form what had been vaguely glimmering in the minds of others; and that it only needed the magic word of a system to call up spirits, which, without it, would have remained in darkness. But as every thing finds its opposite and limitation, so was it with the Kantian philosophy; and in the next lecture we will speak of its most intellectual and strongest opponent, Herder, whom we have treated already in other respects.

¹ Fichte, the son, contradicts this report, quoted by G. Müller in the *Leben Herder's*.

² Fichte mentions this in his *Biography of his Father*.

LECTURE V.

HERDER'S POSITION TOWARD KANT'S PHILOSOPHY.—RATIONALISM AND SUPERNATURALISM.—FRANZ VOLKMAR REINHARD AND HIS CONFESSIONS.

At the close of the last lecture we remarked that the Kantian system not only revolutionized German philosophy but also influenced the wider sphere of science,—namely, the sphere of religious ideas, art, morals, politics, and education. And as we noticed the fact, that the spirit of the times and the passion for whatever was new and peculiar aided toward the increase of its adherents, it would be more than mere injustice to ignore the mighty impulse which Kant gave to thinkers by means of his philosophy. That philosophy cannot be deemed accidental which could win and employ in its service for some time two such young men as Schiller and Fichte, though it could not permanently content them; and which ruled many minds, either consciously or unconsciously, over half a century. And it still controls men, for while it can count only a few adherents in the schools, there is still a large class of educated, or moderately educated, people who follow in its footsteps. Kant's philosophy is important in universal history, and therefore deserves to be named with respect. In his Critique he has given to the thinking minds of the German nation, which includes the greatest number of his disciples, a task over which profound thinkers and professional philosophers have worked themselves weary down to the present day. The acts concerning him and the influence which his philosophy wields, and in what

its service and error consist, are not yet closed; and we are by no means called upon to form an opinion on this subject, much less to pronounce judgment. It is enough to acknowledge greatness and importance wherever they meet us; and since we have found that the relation of this philosophy to the development of Protestantism was one-sided, and antagonistic in many respects to the radical principles of Christianity, we shall pronounce opinion on this relation only, which is all we are concerned with, but not on the system itself, because we have only become acquainted with it by fragments.¹

But it is as necessary for our historical purpose that we be mindful of the enthusiastic favor that Kant received from some of his contemporaries as of the opposition that he encountered from others. A minute history of the controversy cannot be given here. But it must naturally be expected that, as there was a multitude of thoughtless adherents, so there was also an abundance of nonsensical and foolish replies, and vulgar invectives and suspicions. Many whose pasteboard house had been roughly blown down by Kant's ingenious arguments, grew angry at him. Even the great crowd of illuminists, who had indulged in loose and wild reasoning, were not contented with Kant; for, while his system afforded in the main the pretext which neology had long been wishing for, the limitation of religion to morality, and the like, the rigid discipline of thought which Kant introduced by his critical system was uncomfortable to many, and the vain ones among them were all the more vexed because their fame had been eclipsed by his own.

¹ We may refer educated readers, who desire to become more fully acquainted with the Kantian and subsequent systems, to Chalybäus, *Historische Entwicklung der speculativen Philosophie von Kant bis Hegel* (2nd Ed. 1839); and also to Fortlage, *Genetische Geschichte der Philosophie seit Kant* (Leipzig, 1852). [Chalybäus' work has been translated into English. (Andover, 1854). A still better work than these is Schwegler's *History of Philosophy in Epitome*, translated by J. H. Seelye (5th Ed. New York, 1866). See pp. 229—365 for the Kantian and later philosophical systems.—J. F. H.]

But we must distinguish between the common class of shriekers against the Kantian system and opponents of weight and character. We have already mentioned Herder as its adversary, and the occasion is now presented to do what I announced in the last lecture, — to compare his greatness with another. But before investigating the difference between the two men, let us proceed from that which they had in common. They were not merely united by similar citizenship, — for they were both Prussians, — nor by their illustrious name in a remarkable period, but by their Protestantism, and sharp, critical pungency. Both were Protestant minds, both men of progress and free development; both possessed an irrepressible desire for something new and better; both would elevate man above the narrow limits of the horizon of his birth, education, and custom, to a broader consideration of himself, to the consciousness of his intellectual dignity, and to the possession and enjoyment of his humanity in the noblest sense of the word. Man as man, considered in his humanity alone, was the task of both; and it is remarkable that humanity, the word so frequently employed by Herder, was also the watchword of Kant. When the mental and physical powers of the latter were in decay, the last time that he aroused to himself he was heard to say: "The feeling for humanity has not yet left me!"¹

We would expect from Herder's humanity that, having been Kant's junior and his former scholar, he would entertain toward him the same personal respect with which he regarded all the great men of his own and of all times. Otherwise, he would have been untrue to his own principle: "The disciple who persecutes his teacher bears a Nemesis upon his back, and the mark of reprobation upon his forehead."² No, we have already observed in Herder's life that he had a high personal esteem for Kant. He knew how to give proper credit even to Kant's doctrines and their service to the times. He guarded them against unjust imputations and wrong con-

¹ Wasianski, p. 205.

² *Das Fest der Grazien*, in *Schiller's Horen*, 1795. Part. II. p. 14.

clusions. "It is false," said he, "quite false, that his philosophy detracts from experience; for, on the contrary, it is connected with it, wherever it is possible. . . . It is false that he loved a philosophy which, without a knowledge of other sciences, is ever threshing out empty straw; for those who do this are not of his class.¹

Herder's censure was leveled rather against those partisan worshippers who, instead of taking Kant's Critique of Pure Reason as the threshing-floor, where the chaff of philosophical thought should be separated from the pure wheat, regarded it as the very substance of all human thought and knowledge. "What a misconception, what an abuse," says Herder, in a Protestant manner, "to take the outline for the thing itself, the frame for the picture, and the vessel, whose seams he would explain, for its entire contents. and to believe that all the treasures of knowledge are gathered into it. . . . The intolerance with which the real and false Kantians speak of their universal tribunal, where they condemn, praise, and reject, has been as odious to the respectable portion of Germany as it must have been to the tolerant character and considerate perception of truth of the author of this philosophy." . . . "Kant's own works," says the same Herder, prophetically, "will remain. Their spirit, though it be cast in another form, will really continue to work and live. Kant has already exerted a powerful influence, and his traces are perceptible in almost every department of human investigation. He has brought a new incentive to the mind, not only to sift the old, but also . . . to arrange, in rigid ideas, human sciences, morality, and natural and popular rights. These are very wholesome attempts; they will take hold upon facts; and hereafter, God willing, they shall become accepted maxims." "It would have been unmistakably beautiful and useful," says Herder, in his Letters on Humanity, "if Kant's pure view had been recognized and adopted by all his disciples. That salt by which he has sharpened and purified our understanding and reason, and the power with which he has evoked the moral law of free-

¹ *Biographie*, Vol. II. p. 240.

dom within us, could not but produce good fruits."¹ "But," says he in another place, "if the Kantian philosophy is to be looked upon as a ferment, the folly of men has mistaken the leaven for the lump itself, and hence the inconceivable mischief."²

Herder was of the opinion that it would be a serviceable undertaking to collect the important principles from Kant's writings, and then compare them with the previous products of philosophy, and thus to acquire a safe result from what he had contributed anew; for only bedazzled Kantians could maintain that all was new. Justice and humanity seemed to him to demand such a labor. Even Kant's service would not be diminished, and Herder was opposed to the one-sided elevation of it at the expense of the achievements of all other philosophers. What influenced Herder particularly against the autocracy of the Kantian philosophy, as it now prevailed also in theology, was his experiences in the examination of candidates at Weimar. "There came," Herder's biographer, J. G. Müller, tells us, "young theologians to Weimar to be examined, whose ignorance, arrogance, and wanton answers partially angered and partially pained Herder; when, for example, simple young men said to him: 'We have not been

¹ *Werke zur Philosophie und Geschichte*, Vol. XI. p. 188 ff. Here there is also a beautiful sketch of Kant: "I have enjoyed the pleasure of knowing a philosopher who was my teacher. In his most brilliant years he had the joyous vivacity of a young man, which, I believe, attended him in his latest years. His broad forehead, made for thought, was the seat of indestructible serenity and joy; the richest language fell from his lips; pleasantry, wit, and humor stood at his command; and his instructive lectures were the most entertaining intercourse. . . . The history of men, nations, and nature, and the natural sciences, mathematics, and education, were the fountains which gave life to his lectures and conversation; nothing worthy of knowing was of small consequence to him; no cabal, no soul, no interest, or envy of another's reputation ever excited in him the least feeling against the extension and elucidation of truth. He encouraged and pleasantly compelled self-thought. Despotism was foreign to his mind. This man, whom I mention with great respect, is Immanuel Kant, whose picture stands pleasantly before me, etc."

² *Biographie*, Vol. II. p. 229.

differently taught, let some one teach us better!' A young Weimar preacher shot himself before or after his examination from despair over his misspent study. Another talented young man wrote an essay against marriage, and yet vehemently demanded that the chief consistory should give him a pastoral position. An unbridled arrogance, united with a scornful contempt of everything venerable, prevailed among the young men; the holiest ties of nature were no more of value to them; the love of parents, children and wives was a reproach, in their opinion; . . . to be faithful and believing was not obligatory; religion, and particularly the Christian religion, was regarded as mere superstition. All this new-fledged wisdom was impudently expressed, and found its powerful protectors. This pained Herder. Indeed, it grieved him for Kant's own sake, and his indignation against this foolish reverence was finally directed somewhat toward the revered man himself. He called it 'small' in Kant not to prevent the mischief, since he could not be blind to the abuses produced by his doctrines. He is said to have expressed the opinion that only one out of all his disciples, Court Preacher Schulz, of Königsberg, understood him.¹ Therefore Herder felt himself called upon to oppose Kant's Critique by publishing his *Deductive Criticism*.²

We cannot enter into the controversy itself. It is a fact that Herder's *Deductive Criticism*, as well as his *Kalligone*, which was also directed against Kant, did not accomplish the desired result, and that these two works do not belong to his most valuable writings. We must confess, however, that Herder here ventured upon a field where he was much less at home than in theology, history, and literature. Speculative philosophy was not his business. In his mind, the living poetic view predominated over conception. He himself thus addresses the abstract philosopher: "If you must pare the fruit for the sake of your weak stomach, then pare it; only do not counsel me to chew the rind of your abstractions. I eat fruit with its beautiful color; I drink the cup with its

¹ A similar anecdote was related of Hegel just after his death.

² *Biographie*, p. 225.

delicious aroma."¹ Thus the poet speaks, and we can agree with him; but here he does not furnish any aid to those who applied the sharp knife of criticism to the rind.

While these philosophers regarded reason as an independent power, apart from all personal influences and conditions of individual life, and while, for example, the universal idea stood higher than the individual man as he really is before us, Herder's vivid poetic sense was directed against this metaphysical exclusiveness. "Reason," he says, "is not the original, pure power that philosophers imagine; it is an aggregate of the observations and exercises of our souls, a sum of the education of our race, and which, by the aid of given prototypes, the trained man completes in himself, after the manner of the artist. Man becomes man only by education, and the entire race lives only in the chain of individuals. Race and species are universal ideas, which are only real in so far as they exist in the individual being."²

Herder thus proceeded from the reality of individual life in its connection with associated life, from sensuous intuition, and from experience; while Kant and his disciples set out from abstract conceptions, and connected them with each other as figures in an account. With these different standpoints, harmony was hardly possible. And how intimately was this difference of standpoint connected with a difference in the personality of these two great men! Herder was trained by life, Kant by the schools. Here lies their great disparity. While the vessel which bore Herder from Riga to Nantes was really the cradle of his great thoughts on the billows of the sea, we never find Kant beyond the limits of his Königsberg. While Herder, in this respect like Luther, was passionately fond of music, and found in its mysterious language the key to so much which the naked thought could not express, we perceive Kant's indifference toward it, which, indeed, we are half inclined to call dullness on the part of a man of such high standing. These two men also thought very differently on the nature and destination of art. Kant would

¹ *Werke zur Philosophie*, Vol. VII. p. 55.

² *Ideen zur Phil. der Gesch. der Menschheit*, Vol. II. pp. 199—203.

allow no poetry but rhyme, while Herder very seldom applied himself to rhyme. Herder's prose was like Lavater's, often very poetical; while his poetry sometimes dragged itself along in passages of prose. Kant, on the other hand, and not unjustly too, demanded a rigid distinction between poetic and prosaic diction. A poetic prose, said he, is one gone mad.

But the greatest difference between the two men lies in the fact, that Herder's whole nature was grounded in domestic life, while Kant, the bachelor, was confined to himself and a few friends. A family, a household, can live as little, intellectually, on abstract ideas as physically on empty dishes. The nourishing daily bread must be something stronger than the scanty meal prepared in the philosophical kitchen. Herder, like Luther, knew how to distribute to his own family the bread of life which he ministered to the congregation; and as he felt himself to be the priest of the household, so did his truly Lutheran heart recognize the lofty purpose of the priestess. "The position of a noble, faithful wife and priestess," he said, "is, apart from all selfishness, the worthiest and most beautiful in the world; and, with good children, it must be a heavenly position."

Kant knew nothing of this happiness, for he thought the art of cookery was the triumph of female culture. When tutor in a family, he had not known how to enter into the minds of children, while Herder could address children in a child-like way. If, for example, we read Herder's letters to his children about his Italian journey, we shall be unconsciously reminded of Luther and his Hänschen; thus frankly and heartily does the great man know how to unbend himself. This is enough to convince us how the personal difference between the two men determined their methods of philosophizing. What we here find pictured in these two lofty minds, Herder and Kant, we shall again perceive in the times; and we shall certainly observe that the vitally fresh and strong method of Herder receded more and more into the background, while the colorless, dry, and abstract system gained the upper hand, especially in the religious sphere.

The opposition between Rationalism and Supernaturalism

which has prevailed in theology since Kant, and has come down to our times, though it is now in decline, is really founded upon this abstract and formal thinking, which is removed from all active contemplation. And in speaking of this antagonism, which constitutes an important period in the later history of Protestantism and of the church in general, I must claim your increased patience; for it will be impossible to speak upon this subject without being somewhat dry and abstract. Since the party-names "Rationalist" and "Supernaturalist" are quite commonly used in ordinary conversation, and very often vaguely and incorrectly, I feel it my duty, as far as I can, to define their meaning.

We must remember that long before Kant, and even before the time of the Wolfian philosophy, there had extended in Germany a theological tendency which sought to discard the old faith in the Bible as quietly as possible, or at least to effect a moderate distance between reason and revelation. In our last year's lectures we became acquainted with those so-called neological efforts, and we saw how they did not all spring from the same source; how some were prompted by an estimable religious feeling and an upright love of truth, while others, coming from vanity or a systematic abnegation of the strictly spiritual discipline of Christianity, were committed to the phantom of innovation.¹ At all events, the impulse toward religious illuminism which extended through the century was very indefinite, and rested upon no solid basis. The most of the people affected by it were misguided in their inquiries by a certain something which they called sound reason, sound human understanding, liberal taste, and the spirit of the age, without really arriving at a distinct idea of what this something was. There was only the feeling that the old faith must be discarded, and hence some thought the reformation could only take place in this, and others in that way. It was Kant's undeniable service to direct the stream of illuminism at least into a narrow and well-defined channel, thus seeking to prevent the submerging with which Germany was threatened by the freethinking literature.

¹ See Vol. I. Lectures XII—XVI.

But however far Kant was removed from positive Christianity, every honest man will confess that his exertions were very different from those of Voltaire and the Encyclopædists.¹ Though it had been customary to call the system of those philosophers, who overthrew all revelation and attached themselves to nature alone, naturalism, Kant would detach his from it; and he named his system, by way of distinction, Rationalism, the religion of reason. His Rationalism was to be a medium between skeptical naturalism and hyper-orthodox Supernaturalism. Kant himself gives the following definition in his work on Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason: "A Rationalist is he who determines that natural religion is morally necessary, and a duty; a Naturalist is one who denies the reality of all divine revelation; a pure Rationalist may allow a revelation, but will not admit that the knowledge and acceptance of its reality is at all necessary for religion; finally, a pure Supernaturalist holds that faith in revelation is indispensable for universal religion." But Kant's definition has not been faithfully adhered to, and down to the present day there has been no verbal explanation that has been universally received. It is therefore highly improper to adopt terms that so easily become party-names, and soon get to be associated with false accessory notions; nor is it less wrong, in some cases, to ally ourselves with, or form a hasty estimate of, individual characters. I confess that I always use these words with some misgiving, and I only do it now because history requires their mention.² However, I shall adhere to the historical phenomenon itself, and portray German Rationalism as it has extended in Germany since the Kantian period; not as it would or should be, according to appointment and theory, but as it was and still is, and as it did conduct itself and still does in ecclesiastical

¹ In some of his works, for example, in the *Streit der Facultäten*, Kant did, however, give loose reins to his irony, and was unfair to theologians and theology.

² Schleiermacher said, that he always felt strange when he heard the words *Ra* and *Supra* rushing along.

life.¹ And we must here say, that we should do violence to history, if, as is often the case, we should reduce Rationalism to a level with sheer infidelity, or designate it as a tendency absolutely hostile to Christianity.

That tendency which was called forth by Voltaire and his adherents has undoubtedly had its votaries in Germany, and these, too, in many of the most cultivated circles; and we well know how Frederick the Great contributed his share to it. But German Rationalism, which was embraced by many of the most respectable preachers and theologians of that time, had nothing in common with that light and frivolous thinking which trifled away all the seriousness of life. While frivolous naturalism, as we prefer to call it, deemed Christianity worthy of no careful consideration whatever, but made it chiefly the subject of its derision, the Rationalists, on the other hand, avowed themselves as the zealous friends and promoters of the Christian religion. While the former believed that Christianity had ceased to exist, and, like an antiquated fable, would only satisfy the masses, or perhaps the women and children, German Rationalism, on the contrary, strove to make Christianity accessible to the cultivated, and render it an object of favor to thinking men; and, by this means, to accommodate it to the demands of the times, and to reason,—or to that which it was customary to call reason. With many, these demands were extremely moderate, and went, in fact, no further than those of the naturalists, only that they were more seriously intended, and aimed at a purer morality. And thus it came to pass with Rationalism, that, in reality, religion became only the exterior handle to morality, which was the root of a deep religious life, while religion was reduced to a few abstract statements. God, or rather Providence, virtue and immortality (retribution

¹ It is well known that Röhr and Wegscheider are the champions of this tendency, and I believe they would acknowledge this if they could see the fruit of their theology. However, there are some things which they did not accept; as, for example, the natural explanation of miracles, which one of their defenders, Paulus, has adopted.

and recognition), were the favorite ideas about which the religious instruction and preaching of Rationalism clustered.

But morals won a broad field, and they were a very serious thing with the Rationalists, or at least with the nobler and better class, who were the real defenders of the system. The more the frivolous Deists and naturalists sought to laugh away the faith in a God directing the affairs of men and hearing prayer, in man's immortal destiny and future state, so much the more zealously did the sterner Rationalists strive to hold fast these principles of the universal well-being of humanity and of each individual. Rationalism also demanded faith, in opposition to frivolous unbelief. But it must be a reasonable faith,—and rightly so. However, all depended on what was meant by faith and what by reason, and particularly on the construction placed upon reason and the character of the so-called religion and theology of reason. Kant had previously distinguished between reason and the understanding. That which is higher within us, and raises us above sensitivity, he termed reason, while the understanding is that which is able to recognize, understand, and connect with the sensuous. But he has been charged with limiting reason too much to the supersensuous, and even converting it into a refined understanding.¹ The common Rationalists then fell completely into the mistake of rejecting everything as contrary to reason which does not at the same time shed its light upon the common understanding.²

Religion was in this way taken out of its sanctuary, and

¹ See Jacobi on this point, in his interesting treatise, *Ueber den Versuch, die Vernunft zu Verstande zu bringen*.

² Hence the opposition of vulgar Rationalism to everything speculative, inner, and mystical. In place of the pure use of reason, which leads into the depths of our consciousness, there soon sprang up a Rationalistic tradition, a ready-made system of mental authenticity, with which those who were indolent in thought, and shunned it, surrounded themselves as with a comfortable garment, and which did less good service than the church-cloak of orthodoxy. Thus Wegscheider's *Institutiones* was as much of a symbolical book to many as the *Formula of Concord* had been, while the anathema of Weimar became as much dreaded as that of Wittenberg, of Geneva, or of Rome used to be.

the delicious fragrance of the mysterious and the miraculous, which rested upon it and its history, was often disturbed by coarse hands, and the great forms which the common understanding of men was too feeble to reach were made common. Thus there was created a Christianity of reason, or rather of the understanding, which was related to Biblical and historical Christianity just as a streak of shade is to a brightly colored and beautiful painting. Rationalism would not break with the Bible and Christianity, as unhistorical naturalism had done. It leaned on what was historically committed to man, but this was more of an external attachment to the positive than a growth with it, and an organic interpenetration of the outer and the inner life.

There were some persons who conceded the divine origin of the Bible; while others only accepted what was promotive of morality and natural religion, laying aside the remainder, or refining upon the written Word until the desired meaning might be gained. Miracles, to which the new illuminism had long taken exception, had to fall to the ground for awhile, or be stretched upon the rack of torture. Either from real respect for the Scriptures or the fear of public opinion, only a few persons determined to reject miracles as unhistorical poems and legends. People persuaded themselves to believe that no miracle was related by the passages in question; the language must be read or translated differently; oriental figures and analogies were employed, which had to be thinned down in prose; or the most unnatural *natural* explanations were made to throw light upon miracles. Where God spoke from heaven, it must have thundered or lightened; where angels appeared, it must have been an optical illusion. The new scientific discoveries, such as electricity, magnetism, and the like, helped out where the grammar was deficient; and so it was not long before the Bible, which it had been designed to rescue from scorn, was again completely laid at the mercy of the scoffers.

The more reasonable and moderate of the number understood this fact. They renounced the natural explanation, and allowed miracles to stand simply as not belonging to the es-

sence of religion. And as with miracles of the outer world, so it was with those of the inner. What the Bible ascribed to the spirit of God and his extraordinary operations of grace, now became the mere effect of reason. Those regenerated by the spirit became only more reasonable, moral, respectable and useful people; and when Paul says: "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me," he only used a highly colored oriental figure, which meant: "I can do all things by my reason, by the operation of my moral nature, in which I am greatly aided by the encouraging example of Jesus." Whoever sought to get any more than this out of such expressions, was regarded as a mystic and a fanatic. It might now be expected that the means of grace, prayer, and the sacraments, should be converted into a support of virtue, and the entire Christian service reduced to a school of morality, which the man of culture can readily dispense with; that the edification wrought by the fellowship of the spirit should recede, and the naked understanding suppress all significance and sensuousness in worship.

But I repeat, that, notwithstanding all this, it would be unjust to charge Rationalism with public or secret hostility to Christianity. Yet it is plain from what has been said, that, with this negative thinking, the person of Christ could not be what it had ever been in the faith of the Christian church. But Jesus of Nazareth, the Ambassador of God, the wise and pious Teacher, the Illuminist of Judaism, who combated the superstition and priestly assumptions of the Pharisees, and proved his sincerity by his heroic death on the cross, continued to be a venerable character even in the estimation of Rationalism, and was only derided by the skeptics because he had been surrounded with a nimbus of mystery which Rationalism felt itself called upon to take away. Proceeding from its standpoint, Rationalism held that a better service would be rendered to Christianity by casting off all the definitions concerning the higher dignity of Jesus, his nature, origin, and the like, and simply retaining his own declarations on God and immortality, his unsurpassed moral teaching, and his example. The highest respect and the purest and most sincere gratitude,

must be accorded to him as the founder of a religion, as the noblest of men, and as the one whom Providence foresaw was more calculated than any one else to make the world happy by his wisdom and virtue. The Rationalist would also call himself a Christian. He saw his prototype in Jesus. It was Jesus who, as a pure Rationalist, opposed the superstition and ordinances of the Pharisees, and aided the sound reason of the people to assert its rights! It is in the Sermon on the Mount, and in the profound sayings and parables of Christ, that Rationalism finds its best equipment for moral instruction. The example of Jesus is the most exalted anywhere found in history. His death is that of a moral martyr, of one true to his convictions. The resurrection, which the Rationalist accepts as an historical fact,¹ is to him the most brilliant proof of a providence watching over the works of Jesus, and the plainest intimation that God gave this same Jesus to humanity as its Teacher and Savior. For the Rationalist accepts the principle, that there is no salvation out of Christ, in so far as man advances his temporal and eternal good by following the instruction of Jesus, and as the religious communion founded by Jesus was an institution desired and intended by God himself to aid the development of the religious life of the individual.

This is without embellishment, exaggeration, or disfiguration, the picture of Rationalism as it extended mostly during the Kantian period over a great portion of Germany, as it developed, and in part grew purer, by the aid of theological science, and as it still exists and numbers its votaries among the older class of theologians, and even among the many educated and semi-educated circles. But it is plain that the

¹ However, the Rationalist has yielded to the temptation, if not of explaining the resurrection of Jesus naturally, yet of regarding it as reconcilable with a natural process,—the appearance of death, or a torpidity resembling death. It was, nevertheless, something real and providential. Genuine Rationalism kept aloof from myths and visions. This coincides with its belief in a personal God, which, as we shall see later, separates it from Pantheism,—the speculative Rationalism of the latest period.

general picture here presented can appear, according to the language employed, in various gradations and shades; that it may be distorted by some into a caricature; by others, elevated to a certain degree of ideality; by others degraded into sheer naturalism; and by others, made to approach the more spiritual and living apprehension which, being conformable to reason, might very properly be called Rationalism.

But the same law obtains here as with all party names. The most diverse are sometimes grouped under the same title; and as among the orthodox, Mystics and Pietists, there were noble and ignoble persons, some of whom held truth, or their perception of it, to be a serious thing, while others only played with it; and as some sought their neighbor's good, while others studied their own interest and advantage, so it was with the Rationalists. There is a trivial Rationalism which has been well called "vulgar Rationalism," and there is a higher, ideal form of it which we would denominate the Rationalism of humanity, to which latter type many noble philanthropists were attached. He who would deny that there have been among the Rationalists faithful, zealous pastors, and earnest, conscientious preachers, who strove first to experience what they afterwards recommended to others, and who therefore enjoyed in a high degree the respect and love of their congregations and of all who observed their conduct, or who would attribute to them a corrupt motive of pride or selfishness, must obliterate many a memory of the century, and blot out many an illustrious and useful name, from which we cannot withdraw our esteem. Before one would here sit in judgment and condemn others, he must remember that the individual is chiefly identified with his own times, that the times are themselves qualified by what preceded them, and that there are periods of transition in history in which the thought and action of the individual are intimately involved. We hold that Rationalism is such a period of transition.

The prevailing tendency of the understanding was at that time not confined to religion, but extended to other departments. Not only Christianity, but other phenomena in history,

were apprehended by the age with only partial intelligence. Even the religions of other nations passed as only the production of a superstitious, overgrown imagination, or even of a crafty, priestly deception. The profoundest relations of art were ignored; it was looked at, at most, as an insipid imitation of nature, while nature, in its turn, was observed by many with cold and soulless eyes, so that Schiller's charge against Christianity, in his *Gods of Greece*, applies far more forcibly to Rationalism, according to which everything in nature moves by arbitrary mechanical laws, as if around a spindle. And it is most remarkable that the rationalistic (in the ordinary acceptation of the term), dry, mechanical thinking, deprived as it was of all poetry, overcame the Supernaturalists, who, as far as their Christian relations were concerned, entered into conflict with Rationalism. Though these were opponents of the Rationalists in the theological field, they nevertheless stood on the same platform with them. Even nature was also to the Supernaturalists a dead machine, set up by the Creator once for all; and they were dissatisfied with every thing that could not be apprehended by reason. Yet if they seemed to be content with what was above reason, they did not do it so much from any taste or friendliness for the miraculous and mysterious as from obedience to command, and from fear of offending the majesty of God by their unbelief. They, too, would have greatly preferred a thoroughly comprehensible religion; but since it had pleased God to open higher views in an extraordinary manner, by means of a revelation, and to support it by miracles, these men were modest enough to subject reason to faith, and to submit to the enjoined necessity. Nature was to them just as dead and godless, and as destitute of emotion and spirit, as it was to the Rationalists; only they did concede that God sometimes interferes with the harsh laws of nature, and turns a wheel of the machine in a different direction, so as to produce a miracle. But since they could not explain the inward miracles of the Spirit, the effects of divine grace, in the same mechanical way, they gave them up, and, with few points of variance, inclined to the views of their opponents. But they

retained the validity of the doctrines of redemption by Christ and of justification by faith, while their morality, borrowed from other sources, and mostly from the heathen systems, was independent of this faith, and only accompanied it, instead of being vitally developed from it.

The highly respectable Reinhard appears before us as the champion of this kind of faith in revelation,—Supernaturalism. He was at once famous as a pulpit-orator, as a man, and as a Christian. To relieve the remainder of the present lecture by a personal portrait, we will speak further of this very useful man and his thinking and teaching, for which we shall be greatly indebted to his own Confessions.¹

Francis Volkmar Reinhard was born on the 12th of March, 1753, at Vohenstrauss, a little borough in the Duchy of Sulzbach, where his father was preacher. The tendency of his mind had been predominant in his father. A strictly logical and analytical division was, in the latter's opinion, the chief recommendation of a good sermon; and thus the beautiful virtue of order in a discourse was early impressed upon the mind of the boy. So much was this the fact, that when he was only between ten and twelve years old, on returning home from church he could write down from memory all the chief points of his father's sermons to which he had listened. "From this time forward," says Reinhard himself, "every sermon was lost to me which either had no plan or whose plan I could not discover; and this was the principal reason why I could acquire no taste for most of the sermons that I heard in many places." We therefore see already a preponderance of the logical, analytical, and formal understanding over the other faculties. A boy of only twelve years of age, who was impressed by no sermon unless logically arranged, when this is the very age when the heart and imagination are most apt to be stirred by isolated forcible and beautiful passages, is a remarkable phenomenon, and is intimately connected with kindred manifestations of the times. Did Augustine, Luther, Arndt, Spener, Zinzendorf, Lavater, or Herder have any thing

¹ *Geständnisse, seine Predigten und seine Bildung zum Prediger betreffend*, 2nd Ed. Sulzbach, 1811.

similar to relate of their youthful impressions? We would expect such a thing from Kant sooner than from them.

Reinhard's further education also tended to a solid improvement of the understanding. His power of thinking was strengthened by the study of the classics, and, although the young man had a taste for poetry, it was chiefly the rational, reflective poetry of Haller, which, as he himself confesses, produced more effect upon his reason than upon his imagination, and which, he frankly says, induced his dryness of style. But Klopstock, whose Messiah he became acquainted with in the Gymnasium at Regensburg, exerted a greater influence upon his imagination; yet this influence was only partial, and endured for a short time. It was owing to the strict, philological discipline that prevailed in the gymnasium at that time, and to the Latin breast-pole, as Reinhard himself termed it, that the tension of his imagination was not overstrained. With the philological discipline that then prevailed in the German gymnasia there was associated the ecclesiastical, which manifested itself in the regular attendance at public services. But both these elements,—the heathen and philological, and the Christian and ecclesiastical,—were very distinct; they did not enter into any vital relation with each other; there did not arise an active contemplation of heathendom in the school nor of Christianity in the church; both were treated as separate material, each one in dry and cold distinctness. Therefore, the two elements could move on harmoniously together,—and this was true in Reinhard's case.

Reinhard brought from home his best treasure, the Bible. He had commenced to read it when a boy of five years of age, and carried on its study without the omission of a day. He continued this good exercise while a youth at the gymnasium. "I seized the Bible," he tells us, "whenever I wished to be taught, encouraged, or consoled; and I there found all I needed in so much abundance, that it never occurred to me to look about for other means of edification." It is remarkable that this man, who, for a long time afterward, had the reputation of being the first pulpit-orator of Protestant Ger-

many, had a great distaste for the reading of all sermons; and it is still more astonishing that, at this very time, his feeble health made him very dubious concerning his adoption of the ministerial vocation. However, he entered upon the study of theology in the University of Wittenberg. But he applied himself more to learned than to practical studies, and the ancient Greeks and Romans were his principal instructors. Reinhard greatly rejoiced afterward that Demosthenes had been his model in pulpit-eloquence, and who will deny that the study of the classics has always exerted a cultivating and purifying influence upon the Christian orator? This fact was recognized particularly by the sound sense of the Reformers, and Reinhard's concise, chaste language affords an eloquent testimony to the advantage of the study of the ancients. However, it must not be forgotten, that the Christian sermon, from its very nature, is founded upon quite a different basis, and aims at quite a different object, from those found in the orations of Cicero or Demosthenes. Herder has triumphantly established this fact, while Reinhard, as it seems to us, was entirely too slavish in his attachment to the models furnished by the ancient orators.

He also formed his ethics chiefly from the moral systems of Aristotle, Arrian, and Seneca; and he aimed to unite the heathen ethics more by the exterior method of combination with Biblical and Christian morality than to possess himself of the Christian principle, as vastly different from the heathen. The mystical philosophy of Crusius, which established it upon this independent basis, exerted only a temporary influence upon him. During the quiet progress of Reinhard's theological studies, he does not seem to have had such conflicts as many young theologians have been troubled with during their student-life. His battles were reserved for the decisive years of his official labors.

After hearing philosophical lectures for some time at the University, he became Doctor of Divinity and Professor in ordinary of Theology in 1782. It was now for the first time, when duty made it imperative to have definite convictions, and to teach them to others, that there arose the ne-

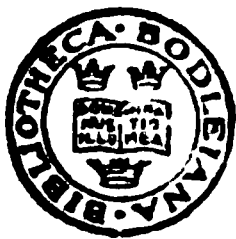
cessity of a conflict in his own mind. The question as to the relation of reason and philosophy to revelation and to life and conscience, in which he had only interested himself heretofore theoretically, just as with any other philosophical problem, now presented itself to him as a vital and conscientious question. Let us hear the eloquent man himself on this point. "I strive in vain," says he, in his Confessions, "to describe the sad conflict in which I was involved every morning as I prepared myself for my lecture, and which brought me so much distress and perplexity. I trembled at the thought of speaking a word to a young man which might contain a secret error. There were a thousand things for me to mention and explain, that were so problematical to me that I could not arrive at any certain conviction of them myself. When the hour came that called me to my lecture, I still went up and down in my room with tears in my eyes, most importunately praying to God that he would so lead me that I might say nothing detrimental to religion and morality. I had often to take the greatest pains lest my secret trouble should become perceptible to my hearers. But with all the uncertainty of my knowledge at this period,—an uncertainty which made me doubt what I had formerly held to be irrefutable,—there remained two principles unshaken: first, to explain nothing in philosophy which conflicted with my moral feeling, and to maintain nothing in theology which opposed the plain statements of the Bible. The latter kept me in the middle way, where I had sufficient freedom for proof, without becoming lost at every step. But I will not omit to mention, that I was aided by the prepossessions of youth. When a child, I had read the Bible as God's Word to men, and had never ceased to regard it in this light; thus it was so holy to me, and its authority so decisive, that a statement from any source which conflicted with it, stirred up my religious feeling as much as an immoral assertion would have shocked my moral sense. . . . It was a matter of conscience to me not to allow myself to be drawn into antagonism to a book which brings divine instruction to so large a portion of our race; whose divine power I have often felt in my own heart,

and to which my whole nature is ever becoming more attached. Moreover, I was born in a church which is the real kingdom of the Scriptures, where they enjoy unlimited sway, and whose entire theology is determined by them. The Scriptures, if not made artificial and violently distorted, seemed to me more adapted to this church than was the creed of any other Christian, religious party. It therefore came to pass, that, though my inner disturbance was so great, and I had to combat doubts of all kinds so long, I could not only lecture upon the doctrines of the evangelical church from the beginning, but I could only satisfy my conscience by being compelled to do it. My inner joy gradually became more fundamental and general, because I continually grew more convinced that the true doctrines of the Scriptures are too deeply contained in the church to be overlooked or expelled by the arts of interpretation."

This confession of the famous man is highly valuable to us, as much because it furnishes us with a personal characteristic as because it describes the features of those times, and particularly of Supernaturalism, which, we have said, was distinguished more for its conscientiousness than for free and hearty attachment to faith in the Bible and revelation. Such conscientiousness is ever worthy of honor, and this confession is valuable, besides, as indicating the struggle which that honest mind had to pass through. But there might have followed a more happy result of the conflict in the present instance. There occurred rather a peaceful agreement with the Bible than a joyous consciousness and proper enjoyment of its splendor. Reinhard termed his respect for the Bible "the early cure of his youth"; he held it to be dangerous and sinful to come into opposition to it, and he avoided the danger. And as he confided in it from his youth, and was blessed by it in forming his opinions, it became more to him a foreign power, which he would not insult, and which could only bless him, than a friend whom he would not forsake at any price.

Reinhard's confession, however, is rather the painful expression of the candid conscience than the frank utterance of the heart. The Bible has in it more of a negative and

defensive, than of a positive and definitive value; and is rather a barrier to arbitrary inquiry than a living fountain of hearty joy. We do not mean that the pious, frank thinker had not experienced the blessing of the Scriptures in his own heart, for his exemplary life furnishes the most beautiful evidence of this. But he seems to have avoided the expression of his experience of heart, lest he might incur the charge of mysticism. Everything seems to have been the result of negative proof, and not the triumph of a state of feeling, which is more mighty than all reasoning; for the ghost of mysticism was as much in dread of the orthodox Reinhard as of any Rationalist. This exterior relation to the Scriptures, as to a mere rule for our thinking, will become much more perceptible to us in Reinhard's style of preaching, of which we will speak in the next lecture, in connection with other phenomena of the times.



LECTURE VI.

REINHARD'S STYLE OF PREACHING.—NIEMEYER, TZSCHIRNER, AMMON.—INFLUENCE OF LATER LITERATURE ON RELIGION AND THEOLOGY.—SCHILLER, AND HIS RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

In the last lecture we stopped in the middle of our contrast between Rationalism and Supernaturalism, when the picture of Reinhard arose before us as of a man who, after having serious, conscientious conflicts, arrived at Supernaturalism, or strict faith in revelation. We then found Reinhard on the ground of conservative Protestantism, as opposed to negative Rationalism. We remarked, however, at the same time, that Reinhard, in spite of his great intelligence, his partiality for the classic models of antiquity, his aversion to true poetry,¹ and, above all, his great fear of being called a mystic, stood upon the same barren soil with the Rationalists. His general view of life was thoroughly rationalistic, though his system of doctrines was an endorsement of strictly Biblical orthodoxy. The deeper spirit of the Bible, in its original freshness of life, as Herder, with his oriental sympathy, knew how to embrace it, evaporated, or rather hardened, beneath his hands into an abstract, colorless conception; and however slightly Reinhard adhered to the Kantian philosophy, we must remember that there is a certain connection between the Kantian thinking and that of Reinhard.

¹ See, for example, his *Brief an Pölitz über das Ideale*, in Pölitz's *Leben und Wirken Reinhard's*, p. 224 ff. (Leipzig, 1815); also his opinion on F. Jacobi, whom he could not understand. Idem, p. 297.

Reinhard's Supernaturalism is external, and while it anxiously retains isolated passages and the history of the Bible, it yet passes over the real genius of the Scriptures. As a specimen, Reinhard regarded the account of the fall of man as a veritable history, but in order to explain the entrance of death into the world as the result of the first sin, he took refuge in the wonderful supposition that the tree of the knowledge of good and evil was only an ordinary poisonous tree, and that the eating of its fruit produced death as a natural result. Here, Rationalism, which is the sophistry of the mind, crept in upon the honest man, and his great desire to explain a miracle led him to the marvellous and dangerous. He saved the shell, but cast off the kernel, which is the essential doctrine. We might thus adduce many examples from Reinhard's system of doctrines to show how, besides many other examples, he coldly treated the relation of God to the world and to the human soul. But we find Reinhard's most intimate relation to Rationalism in his sermons, and it is of them that we now proceed to speak.

There was a time when Reinhard's sermons were unqualifiedly recommended to young theologians as model discourses, and they are still highly esteemed by many people. They deserve it, too, in many respects. They possess such a serious moral sense, genuine piety, and purity of view, as can only be acquired by personal goodness and moral conflicts. A rich treasure of knowledge of human nature is presented to us; the language is appropriate, dignified, concise; there is nothing exaggerated, ornamental, or overstrained; and what gives to these sermons their great historical importance, is the fact that, for the most part, they deal with the great events of the times, as they affected Germany, and particularly oppressed Saxony. Some of these sermons were delivered during the time Reinhard was at Wittenberg, but the most of them when he was principal Court-Preacher at Dresden, which position he accepted in 1792, and filled with great usefulness until his death, in 1812.

Reinhard, in his sermons, gained his way to the heart by means of an understanding that pursued a logical, connected,

and progressive method. This treatment, which avoided everything poetical, figurative, and contemplative, and yet felt compelled to give a figurative expression to Scriptural language, so as to convert it into an abstract lesson, was very much admired by those who boasted a religion above that of the masses, and called themselves educated. Reinhard was recommended as the model of all models, and, naturally enough, he was badly imitated, and often in the wrong place. Thus it soon came to pass, that, if a sermon was ever so insipid, trivial, and empty, it made its fortune at the hands of the reviewer if it was properly divided; that is, well arranged, measured, and squared; every division just as large as the rest; each chief department nicely laid off in its proper subdivisions; and, above all, the theme of the discourse changed into a pulpit-theorem, which began best with, "How." But woe to him who explained a figurative statement in an ornate style, and clothed the skeleton of his logical division with flesh and blood! He would certainly be decried as a mystic, a "fog-maker, and a waverer." Hence Lavater's and Herder's sermons were but lightly esteemed during this period of mental aridity.¹ As an example of the extreme pedantry of the period, a certain critic charged Reinhard himself with commencing one of his sermons with three short syllables! And such trifles passed for homiletic wisdom.²

Very naturally, the imitators of Reinhard's sermons attempted a miserable copy of their outward form; the fullness of ideas, which we would not in the least deny him, seemed to them to have been already exhausted by their master. Wherefore the danger was seriously expressed, of "preaching themselves out," though there was no lack of prescriptions for the remedy for this homiletic consumptive fever. No period has been richer in journals and magazines for preachers. The more the Scriptures had been departed from in preaching, the way back to which was not again found, the greater became

¹ Indeed, in Lentz's *Geschichte der christlichen Homiletik* (Brunswick, 1839), Herder is passed over in silence, and such a judgment is passed upon Lavater (Vol. II. p. 330) as fully confirms what we have said.

² See Pölitx, in the aforementioned work.

the want of the useful, and the excess of the useless; and the words might be applied very justly to many preachers of that time: "They have forsaken me, the fountain of living waters, and hewed them out cisterns, broken cisterns, that can hold no water."

Far be it from us to bring this charge against Reinhard. On the contrary, he always drew his material from the Bible, and his chief aim was to make his sermons thoroughly Scriptural. It is therefore all the more remarkable, that, notwithstanding his strong faith in the Bible and inspiration, he was the first to give Rationalism a firm hold by his preaching. He did this particularly by his sophistical art of giving to his Biblical text an ingenious application, and deducing from it a very unexpected theme. Reinhard always set out from the Bible, but he departed so far from it that he remained no longer within its confines. He viewed the text in question more as an exterior handle, or rather as a *pretext*, so that he might be furnished with a general proposition which, though it might be established on the Bible, was certainly not derived from it. Thus it will sometimes strike us, that he used his text as his swinging-beam, from which he strove to depart as far as possible by the elasticity of his own mind. And, as it frequently happens that great men are enamoured with their own errors, so do we perceive that Reinhard placed great value on this art. Indeed, in his Confessions he informs us of the means by which he attained this readiness and dexterity in the discovery of odd and surprising topics.

The unfortunate custom at that time prevalent in the Lutheran Church, of being compelled to preach every year upon the same prescribed passages in the Gospels, was no small impulse to him in this respect; and we must admire the principle from which he proceeded, of giving as many new phases as possible to the text. But they were not exactly new phases of the entire mass, but rather the outermost edges of the mantle, which he hardly touched with the tips of his fingers, but to which he appended some moral thought, as a trail to a garment. For example, when he

explains the miracle of Healing the Deaf and Dumb Man, he derives the duty of imparting a certain degree of festivity to all our actions, because Jesus united healing with some ceremonies; or, in elucidating the Miraculous Feeding of the Multitude, which the Evangelists record, Reinhard says, that, under ordinary circumstances, it would have been difficult to keep some thousands of men in order in a given place for several days without the oversight of the police; and hence he improved the occasion, not to preach on the Miraculous Feeding, but on "the silent power which virtue exerts over men by its presence." We can therefore ask, if the Rationalists have not thus been shown the plausible way of departing from the history of miracles, and of taking refuge in the broad halls of morality?

We repeat, that Reinhard did not participate with the Rationalists in their shyness of miracles, nor in their opinions in general. He openly declared in favor of miracles and revelation;¹ but even this is a proof of how that exterior, formal Supernaturalism, the mere acceptance of a supernatural revelation, without a penetration of its spirit and a deep grasping of its vital principle, could not oppose Rationalism for a great while, much less explode it. With but few exceptions, both the so-called believers in revelation and in reason, of that day, occupied the same ground of dry, abstract intelligence; both kept aloof from the fresh fountain of life and experience, as they appear so useful and refreshing to us in Herder, for example. Both classes, therefore, could not comprehend what proceeded from the immediate view of life, what from imagination and feeling, and what from the profound principles of faith. Hence the two parties were difficult to understand, and fruitful of misconceptions and false conclusions. Reinhard, in conformity with his analytical mind,

¹ Reinhard testified to his orthodoxy in his *Sermon on the Reformation*, preached in 1800, and circulated by high authority throughout the kingdom of Saxony. But the excitement produced by the sermon, with the various opinions expressed concerning Reinhard's own meaning, shows how little this orthodoxy was in harmony with the remaining characteristics of the man, and how little people expected to find it in him.

had said that there is no third party; either reason must succumb to revelation, or the latter must yield to the former; and he decided for the supremacy of revelation. But during his life, and subsequently, there arose others who held that a harmony of the two systems was possible; they had a lax conception of revelation, and sought to balance it in various ways with reason, so that soon there was frequent mention of rational Supernaturalism and supernatural Rationalism.¹

We shall not here enter into these controversies. We would only state, that the reconciliation of their difficulties, which seemed so hard to establish in science, did not appear altogether impossible in life. We should describe that period erroneously if, as has been sometimes done, we assumed that the pulpits of Germany were filled by only dry, unfeeling, and skeptical preachers. It is easy to see that there was a degree of sadness in some minds at the contemplation of the prevalent negative tendency, such as Lavater expressed: "There are none but negative men; everybody is robbing, there is no one to give; everything is destroyed, there is no one to build up; there is no earnestness, everything is levity; there is no dignity, everything is ridicule; there is no purpose, everything is side-aims."² But while such expressions are pardonable, they are not strictly correct, and are not a standard by which to estimate the times. There were among the most positive Rationalists respectable men enough who had the best disposition to construct and to edify, who zealously labored to improve the people and the schools, and greatly edified by their thoroughly practical sermons, because they kept their pulpits free from all unnecessary dogmatizing, and preached what was for the benefit of all. Moreover, there were many who, though affected by the influences of Rationalism, did not fully surrender themselves to its dominion, but sought to retain a beneficial balance between understanding and feeling, and who, with a noble enthusiasm, advanced the right,

¹ Comp. Tzschirner's *Briefe*, occasioned by Reinhard's *Geständnisse*. Leipzig, 1811.

² Lavater to Jacobi. See Jacobi's *Werke*, Vol. IV. Sect. 8. p. 127.
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with the view of creating a better entrance of Christianity into the minds of all well-meaning persons.

I am reminded of Augustus Herman Niemeyer, descended on his mother's side from A. H. Francke, who was trained at the Royal Grammar-School of Halle, and became Director of the institutions of Francke, and Chancellor of the University. He combined a mild type of piety with noble humanity. Niemeyer was cultivated in various ways by both science and life, but especially by his travels; and throughout his career, he was a faithful guide of youth. His *Characteristics of the Bible*, published anonymously when a young man, won for him a wide circle of readers, and called forth the most enthusiastic plaudits. We gladly call to mind his spiritual poems, which, though not of the highest flight, were distinguished for their simple heartiness.¹ And who is not acquainted with his writings on education, which are still very highly and justly appreciated, because of their perspicuity and solidity? We also do not forget that Niemeyer's house was for a long time a place of meeting for all distinguished foreigners, and that in the midst of the most difficult times and relations, and of very dangerous complications, he could win the respect of those with whom he associated.² We cannot therefore hesitate to attribute to such labors the great blessings needed in those times.

I also call to mind Henry Gottlieb Tzschirner, Professor and Superintendent at Leipzig, the zealous champion of Protestantism, and the faithful defender of its rights against the usurpations of the Romish church, and whose vigorous language even yet produces good results. Nor can I forget Christopher Frederick von Ammon, the successor of Reinhard at Dresden, who, by his attempt to unite faith and knowledge, did not escape the appearance of hesitation in his own principles, who acquired a deserved support by his lofty view of Christianity unfolding itself into an universal religion, by his varied editions of his *Ethics*, and by his majestic pulpit-eloquence.

¹ Thus the hymn: "I know in whom I believe," and others.

² Compare Jacobs and Gruber, *Zur Erinnerung an Niemeyer's Leben und Wirken*. Halle, 1830.

However, we cannot give a comprehensive history of Protestant theology, least of all, of its scientific character. We now prefer to leave the strictly theological department, and, from our present general position, look around for those broader formative principles which, existing in the times, and related to the Kantian philosophy, and in part limited by it, have given a new direction to moral and civil life in its completeness and greatness, and have thus been of much greater influence upon the formation of religious ideas and the development of Protestantism than could have been derived from the book-learning of the theologians as a class, or, perhaps, from the pastors of official appointment. Here we come first to poetry and literature, and then to education.

Let us now speak of literature. We took occasion in our former course of lectures (see Volume I.) to notice how very much the elevation of German literature within forty years, after the time of Lessing, Klopstock and Wieland, reacted upon religious and moral thinking, and at the same time compelled Protestant theology to get out of its scholastic stiffness, and adapt itself to modern forms of thought. For this reason we commenced this course with that significant phenomenon, J. G. Herder, who, more than any one else, has contributed a quickening, exciting, and in part transforming influence upon both the poetic-literary and theological departments. We now take a further step with Schiller and Goethe, whose names are supposed by many to indicate the culminating point of German national culture. To carry out our purpose, we prefer to separate the two names; and though Goethe was the elder, we will speak first of Schiller, for his influence was manifested in a decisive manner upon German thought earlier than that of Goethe. Schiller's opinions, as they took shape in his own mind, and as he promulgated them, were intimately connected with the Kantian philosophy, which is yet fresh in our memory, while Goethe's importance, both for his own and our time, can only be comprehended in relation with the later philosophical developments connected with Schelling and Hegel.

It may appear strange if I should characterize Schiller as

the representative of the rationalistic culture of the times, as expressed in life, outside the bounds of the church and theological science. It may be reasonably asked: How could this be the case, if the nature of Rationalism, as we have seen it, consists in a certain harshness and aridity of the understanding? How does it come that the fervid, imaginative poet finds his place here? I must explain myself more clearly. I must first say, that we should distinguish between the higher Rationalism of humanity and its double-sighted compeer, trivial and vulgar Rationalism. But this explanation is not sufficient, since the higher Rationalism, so far as we have learned it, suffered in the main from a certain preponderating negativeness of the understanding, which entrapped the defenders of the opposite system, as was the case with Reinhard. Now, it was Schiller who constituted a powerful opposition to this very negativeness; and we therefore really find that Reinhard, for example, was not at all in sympathy with Schiller's fervid genius, but declared that the poem on Joy, among others, was the outburst of an excited brain.¹

How does it happen, therefore, we must again ask, that we place Schiller in connection with Rationalism? I reply: Because, with all the poetic form which Schiller employed as a master, the contents of many of his poems, and the tenor of the man's life, harmonize with the rationalistic tendencies; and by the aid of that beautiful, earnest language of which the dull preachers of Rationalism were devoid, he knew how to confer upon it that desired ideality which had been striven after in vain by others. We must here distinguish Schiller's pure poetic genius, which rose high above rationalistic thought, and, under other circumstances, revelled in the mystic regions of enthusiasm, from his individual philosophical culture, and his controlling religious and moral principles, which, if we leave out his obscure youthful efforts, were the very soul of the most of his poems.² Schiller was a disciple of

¹ See Reinhard's Letter to Pölitz, in the latter's *Leben und Charakteristik Reinhard's*, p. 218 f.

² Interesting proofs of this are given in Boas' recent *Jugendgeschichte Schiller's* (Hanover, 1856), which throws much light on his intellectual growth.

Kant, and this explains a great deal; he was an adherent of the critical philosophy; and, proceeding thence, he contributed greatly to the spread of Kantian Rationalism in the hearts of the German people by means of his poetic simplification of it. But we make no charge against him on this score. On the contrary, in opposition to the materialistic and frivolous tendencies which had been partially extended by the school of Wieland, the world needed an impulse toward a higher life, a moral invigoration, and a direction to the invisible, yet not by the aid of hands that grasped too much, even though they were those of a poetic, philosophical ideality. In opposition to the selfish view which degraded virtue to a handmaid of inordinate appetite, the world needed an awakening voice, which would elevate that dignity of virtue which is independent of all sensual results, implant an enthusiasm for it in the soul, and direct our vision from the dust of earthly life toward heaven.

Schiller did this. And it would be prejudice, indeed, it would be ingratitude, or at least ignorance, not to acknowledge it gladly in a certain relation; and it is a good sign when men of decidedly Christian sentiment, such as Albert Knapp, in his beautiful poem in the *Christoterpe*, 1843, have the courage to say to believers and unbelievers, how much the German nation is indebted to its Schiller. We can therefore fully sympathize with the enthusiastic sentiment of the orator who began his address, on the occasion of the unveiling of Schiller's statue in Stuttgart, with the following words: "Full of admiration, buried in reverent contemplation but inward pleasure, we thousands stand before the unveiled statue of the lofty poet, the profound teacher of the nations, the laborer upon the edifice of eternity, and the dear companion of the people. He is at once our pride and our love." When we stand before Schiller's picture, we can look with the same pleasure upon that brow which "thought upon the lot and destiny of humanity;" with the same joy we can gaze upon his deep, gladsome eye, which sought beauty in its essential form; and feast upon those eloquent lips which uttered the

fullness of enchanting song. And yet, in doing this, we are innocent of the vulgar charge of idolatry.

But with all this recognition and admiration of Schiller, we must ask: What was his relation to Christianity? What is his position in the historical development of evangelical Protestantism? Our task requires an answer to these inquiries; and it is only thus that we can speak of him in the present lectures. The questions have obtruded themselves upon the times; and the reverence bestowed upon the great poet at the inauguration of his statue, led to our previous remarks. Schiller and Christianity constitute a theme which has been variously treated by recent authors;¹ and the aforementioned orator at the celebration, Gustavus Schwab, has done well to express his views, for he has enlightened the public more fully on this point in his biography of the poet than all other biographers have done.² Let us attempt to form an opinion on these expressions and the basis of Schiller's own works.

Schiller was born (1759) and trained in Würtemberg, a land where the ancestral Christianity was still deeply rooted. In his day, we find the same custom of morning and evening devotion that we observed in the parental home of Herder. Schiller's sister relates, that the father statedly read the morning and evening prayers in the family circle, and when Schiller was yet a boy he listened to them with great devotion.³ Even when he was an older scholar he never retired to bed without his evening prayer, which he offered in silence, though he was embittered toward the mere exterior form, remarking that "he did not need any brawling." Paul Gerhard's hymns were among his favorite ones.

The family having settled in Lorch, the pastor of the place, Philip Ulrich Moser, to whom Schiller afterward erected a monument in his Robbers, exerted a decidedly moral and

¹ Compare Binder, *Schiller im Verhältniss zum Christenthum* (Stuttgart, 1839); and, in connection therewith, Schwab to Ullmann, in his work, *Ueber den Cultus des Genius*. Hamburg, 1840.

² *Schiller's Leben, in drei Büchern*. Stuttgart, 1840.

³ Schiller's father himself composed a prayer in verse, which he offered every morning. See Boas, p. 53.

religious influence upon the lad. So much was this the fact that Schiller was some time pondering the thought of studying theology. But the plan was frustrated in 1773 by his entering the ducal military school, which had no regard for future theologians. Nor was the institution in any wise calculated to promote the religious development of his character. He was not, however, devoid of religious devotions when in solitude, or afterward, in the Carolinian School at Stuttgart. They came to him in abundance, as formerly to Frederick the Great, in the shape of military exercises formally required of him. Happily, the early impressions of pious training were not without their influence upon Schiller. He still occupied himself, with much pleasure, with the Bible, particularly with the Psalms and Prophets. He often poured out his heart in prayer, and even conducted social religious services. Spiritual poetry was still his chief pleasure, and thus early his youthful imagination expressed itself in his *Moses*, a counterpart to Klopstock's *Messiah*.¹ The clerical profession continued his ideal, and he could think of nothing more exalted than to announce from a consecrated place heavenly truths to a needy people.² No one can read without emotion and profound sympathy those Sunday morning thoughts in the year 1777, which a later hand has preserved for us. They resound with his doubts concerning faith in such a way that we can not but admire the desire for truth which animated the young thinker.

He said: "God of Truth, Father of Light! I look to Thee with the first rays of the morning sun, and I pray to Thee. Thou beholdest me, O God. Thou seest from afar every emotion of my trembling heart. Ah! Thou knowest, too, this burning desire of my soul for truth. Often sore doubt veils my soul in night. Thou knowest, O God, that my heart frequently grows anxious, and yearns for illumination from Thee. Oh! there has many times fallen a kindly beam from Thee into my be-

¹ Even in his fourteenth year he had planned a tragedy, *The Christians*. Boas, p. 97.

² "Has a hankering after theology," as his fellow-students were accustomed to say. Boas, p. 103.

nighted soul. I saw the awful abyss before me; I grew giddy before it, and I thanked the Divine Hand which so kindly drew me back. Still remain with me, my God and Father, for these are days when fools pass along and say in their heart: 'There is no God.' Thou hast reserved me for evil days, my Creator, for days when superstition rages at my right hand and skepticism at my left. Here I stand, and often tremble in the storm, and, oh, the shaking reed would break if Thou didst not sustain it, mighty Preserver of Thy creatures, Father of those who seek Thee!

"What am I without truth, without the guide through the labyrinths of life? A wanderer who is lost in the desert, whom the night has overtaken, with no friend or leading star to show him the path. Doubt, Uncertainty, Skepticism, you begin with torment and you end with despair. But Truth, thou ledest us safely through life; thou bearest the torch before us in the dark vale of death; and thou bringest us back to heaven, whence thou didst first come!

"Oh, my God, thus keep my heart at rest, in that holy stillness in which truth loves most of all to visit us. The sun is not reflected in the stormy sea, but its face beams forth again from the peaceful, mirror-like flood. Even thus do Thou keep this heart at rest, that it may be able to know Thee, O God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent; for this alone is the truth which strengthens the heart and elevates the soul. If I have truth I have Jesus, and if I have Jesus I have God, and if I have God I have everything. Should I permit myself, my God, to be deprived of this gem, this glance which elevates to heaven, by the wisdom of the world, which is foolishness before Thee? No! He who hates truth is my enemy, and him who seeks it with simple heart I will embrace with a brother's joy.

"The bell strikes that calls me to the temple. I hasten thither to make good my confession, to strengthen myself in truth, and to prepare myself for death and eternity. Oh, do Thou so lead me, my Father, and so open my heart to the impressions of truth, that I may be strong enough to announce them to my friends; then they too will be happy. They will

know that Thou art their God and Father, that Thou hast sent Jesus Christ, Thy Son, and the Spirit, who should testify of the truth. Then will they have strength for every grief of this life, and, amid the sufferings of death, they will enjoy the happy confidence of a blissful eternity. Now, my God, Thou mayst take from me every dearly-loved pleasure of earth, every enchanting joy, but only leave me truth, and I have fortune and joy enough.

“May I pray to Thee, all-merciful One; may I weep with this quaking heart and these gushing tears? Then take pity upon the wanderers. Of all the miserable ones of earth, they need Thy help the most. They cannot rejoice at Thy sun, nor at Thy lovely moon, for night is in their soul, and their heart is full of bitter conflict. Ah, take pity on their anguish; let them hear the voice of truth, so that they may stand, tremble, and turn about to pursue their heavenly calling! Bring us all safely over, where no night, or error, or doubt shall any more disturb our hearts; but where light, truth and certainty illuminate the blest, and where we shall eternally know that Thou art God our Father, and that Jesus Christ is the image of Thy glory, through whom Thou givest every joy and blessedness!

“Protect us, Savior, Jesus Christ,
Who sittest at the Father's right!
Oh, be our shield and strong defence!—
As dust, are scoffers in Thy sight.

How long their derision shall last,
And here its defiance shall hurl,
Thou hast forever foreseen:—
Mayhap, their measure is soon full.

Thou hast died, O Lord, for their sins,
Though Thou art reviled by their scorn;
Oh grant, ere their death-night shall come,
They may have a penitent morn!”

Schwab truthfully remarks, that the poem which concludes this prayer could stand in every orthodox hymn-book. But doubt, fostered by the philosophy of Voltaire, whose writings Schiller

became acquainted with when fifteen years old, now continued to gain the upper hand; but where it expressed itself, it was "a doubt full of the holy seriousness and depth of a soul panting after truth,"¹—something more akin to the sentiment of Rousseau than of Voltaire. His anguish is openly expressed in his philosophical letters, Julius to Raphael, which he wrote somewhat later. "Happy time," says he, "when, with veiled eyes, I reeled through life like a drunken man! I felt, and I was happy. Raphael has taught me to think, and I am now ready to lament my own creation. You have stolen my faith, that gave me peace. You have taught me to despise what I once revered. A thousand things were very venerable to me before your sorry wisdom stripped me of them. I saw a multitude of people going to church; I heard their earnest worship as they united in fraternal prayer; I cried aloud: 'That truth must be divine which the best of men profess, which conquers so triumphantly and consoles so sweetly!' Your cold reason has quenched my enthusiasm. 'Believe no one,' you said, 'but your reason; there is nothing more holy than truth.' I listened, and offered up all my opinions. My reason is now become every thing to me; it is my only guaranty for divinity, virtue, and immortality. Woe unto me henceforth if I come in conflict with this sole security!"²

It was in this period of phrensy, as is well known, that Schiller published his *Robbers*. But it is remarkable that, in this æsthetic and morally disappointing piece, amid the abortions of an unrestrained imagination, the venerable and honored Christian faith common in Würtemberg appears as the foil on which human corruption is reflected in its most repulsive caricatures. And is it not surprising that, in the preface to this performance, Schiller justifies the selection and treatment of his material by assuring us, that he wishes to represent that active intellectual sentiment which deviates from religion and Christianity? "It is now the great taste,"

¹ Words of Binder, in Schwab, p. 112.

² Even later, Schiller, in a letter to Körner (1787) mentions a "pure and honest faith of reason," to which must also belong "the faith which alone can save." *Briefw.*, Vol. I. p. 122.

says he, "to so allow wit free play at the expense of religion that one has no adaptation to genius who does not permit his godless satire to bustle about among the holiest truths of religion. The noble simplicity of the Scriptures must be ill treated and turned into ridicule in the daily assemblages of the so-called witty-heads; for what is so holy and serious that, if it become perverted, it cannot be made ridiculous? I can hope that I have inflicted no base revenge upon religion and true morality when I hand over these despisers of the Scriptures to the world's contempt, in the person of my most wicked robbers."¹ However, he presents in this same piece, in the character of Pastor Moser, the picture of a worthy, orthodox, and Kantian rationalistic minister, as his ideal of a preacher.²

It is remarkable that, with but slight exceptions, this is the last favorable description of a minister in Schiller's works. We find him almost everywhere giving vent to priestly hate, which easily tends to a hatred of all ecclesiasticism and positive religion. As in *The Robbers* he personified his ideal of a religious teacher in his revered Moser, so does his recollection of another of his religious instructors, Dean Zilling, who had confirmed him, and who was subsequently decried by the people as a "Lutheran Pope,"³ seem to have in-

¹ Schiller really did this. After one of the robbers had contemptuously made the proposition to become a Pietist, and hold devotional exercises, the other answers: "Right! And if that does not suit, be an atheist! We can strike the four Evangelists in the mouth, let our book be destroyed, and so it will splendidly disappear." As Italy was then celebrated as the land of thieves, Spiegelberg speaks the significant words: "Yes, and if Germany continues as it has commenced, and the Bible is outlawed, as there is now a fine prospect of, it is likely that in due time there can some good come out of Germany."

² The Kantian view of retribution here forms the point on which Moser continues the conversation with Franz Moor. "The thought of God awakens a fearful neighbor, named Judge. Man's fate stands in fearfully harmonious equilibrium. The scales, sinking in this life, will rise in that; but rising here, they will fall there. What was temporal suffering here, will be eternal triumph there; what was finite triumph here, will there be infinite despair."

³ Schwab, *Schiller's Leben in drei Büchern*, p. 122.

fluenced him in his later opinions of the church, priesthood, and of that positive religion which, in his opinion, was inseparable from those excrescences. This ill-temper that he manifested toward many of his contemporaries increased his unfairness toward Christianity in general. He could not affiliate with the wanton scoffs of Voltaire, but felt drawn toward Rousseau, who "gets his men from Christians."

And here again we find a humanity that towers above Christianity, and even dispenses with it! But that cheap philosophy of utility which only lives at peace with one's neighbor, was not attractive to our poet. He aimed at a higher ideal, one that lay above the sphere of every historical religion. But as to sound religion, he assures us that he does not adopt any one form of all he is acquainted with; and it is from this view, which rejects history and tradition, that he could write to Goethe in 1797: "I must confess that I entertain such a decided disbelief in the Biblical record that your doubts concerning a single event seem very reasonable. To me, the Bible is true only where it is clear; but in all the passages that are written with circumstantial consciousness, I am afraid of a design and a later origin." It was therefore the greatest distrust toward every historical communication, and the supposition of an intentional priestly deception, or some similar device, which destroyed his attachment to the Bible. It was only what was clear that had a charm for the poet; and even this was meager enough. Schiller manifested only a slight and passing taste for that grandeur of Biblical poetry which Herder knew how to appreciate. The ideals of beauty which Schiller possessed were rooted only in the Grecian world. No wonder that he could not become personally attached to Herder, with whom he stood in such close relations at Weimar.

On the other hand, as Schiller departed from positive Christianity he adopted the Kantian philosophy, which he zealously studied, and whose results he committed to verse. As is already known, Marquis Posa is a Kantian in the Spanish costume of the sixteenth century, and the Words of

Faith (1797) tell us of the trinity of practical reason.¹ Schiller, in many of his letters, informs us of his relation to the Kantian philosophy. "My unalterable determination is," he wrote to his friend Körner, 1792, "not to leave the Kantian philosophy until I have fathomed it, even if it should cost me three years."² He wrote to Kant his assurance of adherence, and among other objections to Herder was the prominent one, that the latter did not also take part as warmly and positively with Kant. But Schiller's enthusiasm for that philosopher only lasted a few years. He was afterward repelled by the austere, monastic ethics of Kant; and though he did not return to positive Christianity, he did recognize distinctly the difference between that and Kantianism. It is noteworthy that he expressed this view in a letter to Goethe in 1795, in which he praised the Confessions of a Beautiful Soul in "Wilhelm Meister," and then expressed himself thus: "I find the Christian religion to be the entrance to what is highest and noblest, and its different phenomena in life are so repulsive and distasteful because they are perverted representations of this highest good. Let one keep close to the real character of Christianity, which is distinguished from all monotheistic religions, and he will find it to be nothing else than the abolition of law, of the Kantian Imperative, in whose stead Christianity would place a free inclination."³ Here Schiller was in the right path to recognize the peculiar character of Christianity. He also termed it, in the same letter, "the incarnation of the Holy;" but he does not proceed any further than that Christianity is therefore to him "an æsthetic religion, which derives much profit from the effeminate nature, and is only found among women in any tolerable form."

While Schiller, in the most of his writings, only occasionally

¹ Instead of the triad: God, freedom, and immortality, we here have freedom, virtue, and God,—a God "high above time and space," in undisturbed, utterly unrelated, and extramundane solitude.

² *Briefwechsel mit Körner*, Vol. II. p. 289.

³ In the *Briefe an Goethe von den Jahren 1798 und 1799*, and also republished in Döring, pp. 310, 332.

resorted to religious and theological materials, we have, on the other hand, in his treatise on the Mission of Moses, which he prepared during his pre-Kantian period, an attempt at theological authorship. In this production there is a very perceptible rationalistic tendency, on the one side to resolve the miraculous, as related in the Scriptures and impressed upon the imagination, into what is natural and clear to the understanding; and, on the other, to take out Providence, which is visible in the control of human destiny and in the service and conduct of circumstances, as one would release the germ from the shell that contains it. Schiller also acknowledged in the history of Moses the great hand of Providence, "but not of that Providence which intermeddles in the economy of nature by the powerful means of miracles, but of that one who has prescribed such an economy to nature itself that it may accomplish extraordinary things in the most quiet way." He assumed that Moses was initiated into the Egyptian mysteries, and that he had arrived at the knowledge of the one God; but that he did not convert these views of the one God into an empty, abstract theory, but united them with the idea of the Hebrew national god, though Moses was not content to make this national god the most powerful of all gods. He made him the only God, and hurled all other gods into their proper nonentity.

The correct portion of Schiller's idea is, that in the Old Testament the Creator of heaven and earth seems at the same time to be the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and that in this very connection of the monotheistic and universal with the national consists the peculiar religious strength of the Mosaic and Old Testament religion in general. But the erroneous part of Schiller's portraiture is, that he represents as a work of shrewd human calculation and device that which, according to the Christian view, is the work of the divine training of man.¹ This leads us to Schiller's view of history

¹ How unable Schiller was to transpose himself to the religious thinking of antiquity, which Herder understood so well, is shown by that frivolous method learned from Voltaire, by which, for example, he scoffs at God's appearing in the burning bush, and Moses' taking off his shoes.

in general, and to his call as a historian. Without any assistance from himself, he became Professor of History at Jena, at a time when his mind was full of dramatic plans. History had hitherto been to him only a mine for poetry, and particularly for the drama; and it still had to be the same. He expressed himself unequivocally on this point in a letter to a friend, in which he said: "I shall always be a bad source for the future historical inquirer who has the misfortune to consult me. But I shall find readers and hearers, perhaps at the expense of historical truth; and I may meet with those of strong philosophical taste. History, on the whole, is only a magazine for my imagination; and events must take place in my hands according to my own notion."¹

A sad confession for a Professor of History! But yet it is an important one, since it affords us a view of the unhistorical rationalizing thinking so wide spread at the time. Kant would interpret all Biblical history so as to contribute to morality. Schiller makes the same claim, but for the advantage of æsthetics, and thus these great minds would divide history and debase its character, as philosophy had formerly been treated. And this want of historical perception, or rather this want of historical humility, which, with a degree of self-denial, recognizes history as a power that stands above the individual, pervades the whole career of Rationalism. It has betrayed itself in the most varied departments, in jurisprudence as in theology, in politics as in art. We do not mean that Schiller lacked all higher comprehension of history. He excellently explains himself on this point in his Academic Inaugural Address: "It is asked, what is universal history, and for what purpose is it studied? Indeed, in contradiction of hasty, desultory knowledge, I grant, that, in history, truth must be sought above all things; and I concede the duty of taking care that history does not lose its value in my hand."

But yet it is here the generalizing philosophical spirit which excites him, instead of that keen historical sense which

¹ Caroline von Bentritz, dated the 10th of December, 1778, in Döring.

can grasp and dignify the individuality and peculiarity of every people, age, and personage. The same want of perception of the individual in history is manifest in Schiller's poems, in which the characters are not only arbitrarily idealized, but are converted into their antipodes, and persons are made the supporters of ideas really foreign to them. Schiller's heroes are generally less the spokesmen of their times than the organs through which he brings his philosophy to man; they are the mirror of the poet and not of their century. Hence, the plastic materials which Goethe knew so well how to manage are usually carried to excess by declamation,¹ as with Racine and many of the French. Declamation requires striking contrasts, and therefore Schiller's eye was less keen for purely historical events than for transitions and accommodations. But here lies the danger of exaggeration and untruth. He who always seeks either barbarism or culture, dignity or degradation of soul, and humanity or brutality, but exhibits only little susceptibility for the intermediate steps and transitions, and for the infinite blendings of life, will also lack the capacity and patience to portray characters in their complete truth, and will vacillate between the original picture and the caricature.

That the past must serve the present, is certainly a moral law of history; but, above all, the past must have its own rights, and we should not unqualifiedly make the present the standard of the past, and lay aside as worthless that which, on the first view, brings no advantage to the time and its necessities. The Rationalism which would recast the discoveries of history into transitory coins, was very prejudicial to historical taste; and, among other reasons why Herder was highly repulsive to Schiller, were the quiet, contemplative industry of Herder,—which, like the bee, led him to collect historical monuments,—and his reverence for past ages and departed individuals. Schiller charged him, in harsh expressions, with having respect for everything dead and moldering, and with coldness for everything living; and he

¹ Wallenstein's Camp is a happy exception to this.

termed his industrious gathering of materials, "a pitiable picking up of early and extinct literature."¹

Let us now return to his treatise on the Study of History. We are pleased to learn that Schiller here utters his Protestant sentiments, and with a certain degree of pride "he speaks to Protestant Christians." "The Christian religion," he says, "has so multiform a share in the present shape of the world that its appearance is the most important event in the history of the world." He only adds, by way of qualification, "that neither in the time when Christianity came, nor in the people to whom it was communicated, is there a satisfactory ground for explaining its appearance," and, as he thinks, from sheer lack of historical sources. Here, again, philosophy, and a philosophical and pragmatic disposition of history, must supply the want and study of the sources. Philosophy must first unite the fragments into a whole, and explain the relation of the material at hand to that whole.

Christianity, therefore, is even to Schiller the most important fact in the world's history. But if he alone is able to understand thoroughly the historical position of Christianity as a power to save the world who has a clear view of the nature of sin and its historical ramifications, then Schiller has misconceived Christianity. He considers the very beginnings of human history (in his treatise on this subject) from a point of view which claims, that the first transgression of the divine law, according to the Mosaic account, is not a misfortune but a blessing. With the old Gnostics, he perceives no fall in the fall of man, but an elevation of the human race to moral independence, an awakening from the dream-life of childhood to true consciousness. Thus Christianity is not to him a restoration, but a developing force in the progress of mankind to humanity.

¹ In the *Briefe an Göthe*, republished in Döring, pp. 217, 362.

LECTURE VII.

SCHILLER IN RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY, CONTINUED.—HIS POSITION TOWARD PROTESTANTISM.—INFLUENCE OF THE THEATER ON THE RELIGIOUS DEVELOPMENT OF THE PEOPLE, AND THE REACTION OF THE THEATER ON THE CHURCH.—APPROVAL OF SCHILLER IN THE SERMONS OF HIS TIMES.—SENTIMENTALITY.—RATIONALISM IN THE GARB OF POETRY: TIEDGE'S URANIA, AND WITSCHERL'S MORNING AND EVENING OFFERING.

While Schiller's name is hardly mentioned elsewhere in church history, and still less is his importance for national culture appreciated, we have determined from the outset not to look merely at the strictly ecclesiastical phenomena, but to consider all that has been of effect, in a wider sense, toward the formation of ideas, all that has opened new points of view in the criticism of moral relations, that has called forth new tendencies of thought, feeling and will, and thus exerted a profound influence on the development of Protestantism. And who would deny that this was the case with Schiller? Therefore I have concluded to tarry awhile longer with the poet himself, so that, beginning with him and his thinking, we may consider more specifically the relation of the artistic and literary efforts of the times, which derived their chief nourishment from Schiller's poetry, to ecclesiastical life, and to the morals and religion of Protestantism.

If we examine more closely Schiller's poems, we shall certainly very soon agree that the epithet *Christian* would hardly designate their import and still less can we here seek *spirit-*

ual songs. It has been charged against Schiller, that, with the exception of the youthful poem found among his posthumous writings, which we repeated in a previous lecture, he did not compose spiritual hymns; but such a charge is unjustifiable. The composition of a hymn is not at all an affair of the individual; the impulse must lie in the times; but nowhere was this impulse less present than in Schiller's age. We would thank him but little if, merely to exempt himself, he had patched together a few spiritual verses, and then, in all the rest, had shown himself merely as a secular poet, which was the case with Uz, Günther, and others. Schiller's poetry proceeded from his inmost soul, and was the full expression of his sentiment. All his poems contained truth, though often only subjective truth. He was violently opposed to the appearance of hypocrisy. So long as he himself breathed the old vital air of Christianity, he could succeed in such a song as the one we have communicated; he could have done the same thing in a better way subsequently, as far as talents are concerned, but he could not have done it without contradicting himself, and without making sport of the most sacred things, a deed which Schiller would not commit. Let us therefore honor this feeling; and it, and not our own wishes, must be our standard in judging the poet. Meanwhile, we cannot bear too carefully in mind that there lies a great, broad field between what is not Christian in the narrowest sense, and the unchristian and antichristian; and while we would not be too liberal in using the term *Christian*, nor would admit that morality in itself is Christianity,—in which lay just the error of Rationalism,—we would nevertheless confess that, where we meet with a proper moral sentiment, we find safe connecting points for Christianity, or, at least, that a prime obstacle is removed toward our arrival at Christianity.

Therefore, what we first meet with in Schiller's poems as worthy of recognition, even from a Christian standpoint, is, if we except a few extravagant excrescences, the moral dignity and purity pervading the most of his poems. Schiller has lifted poetry from the filth of sensuousness into which it

threatened to sink by the imitation of foreign models, to the pure sphere of the ideal. Should we not, as Christians, thank him for this? He who walks with Schiller, rises, perhaps, with him to giddy heights, and past dangerous chasms and abysses, but he does not walk in darkness, nor in thick mud, but always with his gaze directed toward the sun, though that sun may sometimes be concealed behind the black storm-clouds of anxious doubt and hazardous errors. It is upon such a dreadful peak, just on the brink of a precipice, that we hear his Resignation, and from the height of this extravagant and unpractical view of life he looks yearningly back upon the old land of Grecian fable, and, though in the midst of the Christian world, he wishes back the gods of Greece.¹ But in his storm-tossed breast there beats a noble heart, which struggles after God; and as for the gods of Greece, it is not true Christianity, but the soulless and abstract theology which has banished the living God from the world, and has changed everything into dead natural forces, against which he directs his poem. Even when Schiller, in his Words of Fancy, seems to despair of all truth, when he declares that the truth never appears to the "earthly understanding," and when he calls it only an "advising and thinking" to which we bring it, he has in mind more that dead wisdom of formulas which imagines that it can imprison the spirit in a "sounding word," whether we call it orthodoxy or a philosophical system; but he nevertheless desires to preserve *heavenly* faith. "What no ear has heard, and what no eyes have seen,—the beautiful and the true,—is not beyond thee, where the fool seeks it, but within thee; and thou bringest it forth eternally." And thus he speaks in his poem on the Commencement of the New Century:

¹ His *Briefwechsel mit Körner* gives us much information on this point; comp. Vol. I. p. 397: "The God whom I would obscure in the *Gods of Greece* is not the God of the philosophers (?), nor the beneficent chimera of the great crowd (!), but the abortion produced by a mixture of weak and warped notions." Therefore, after all, the God of the philosophers; at least, not the God of the Bible. Comp. Vol. II. pp. 106, 109.

"To the still holy depths of the heart,
Must thou flee from life's busy throng;
Only in dreams has Freedom her realm,
And Beauty blooms only in song."

This withdrawal of Schiller into the inward world was only in common with many noble minds, who, roughly touched by the external world and its stiff morality, fled to the quiet home of their own spirit. We honor the beauty and grandeur of this feeling, but we would not ignore its danger. Retiring within one's self can easily awaken pride and false complacency, which are never truly contented, and seek to indemnify themselves by the contempt of others. The morbid element in Schiller's tendency, which communicated itself to the greater portion of his contemporaries, and whose root lay in the Kantian philosophy, is that excessive ideality which soars above us, as though belonging to the future, and unattainable in its great height, and to which we can only rise by the highest efforts of the imagination, while Christianity adheres closely to the transpired and historical realization of the ideal in relation to religion and morality. From this realization the further transformation of humanity to the divine shall be made possible, though not by a highly poetical or speculative flight of thought, but through the modest path of humble waiting and struggling. Schiller thus appeals to his friends:

"In life all things are repeated,
But eternally young is the mind;
What is not, and never can be,
Is the only young thing you can find."

But Christianity answers: "There certainly has been a place and a time when the saving grace of God appeared to all men; 'We beheld his glory, the glory as of the only Begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth.'" This never grows old, and ever since the days of its origin, eternal youth has proceeded from the spirit of the new birth to the world. Schiller, at other times, when he descended from the ideal height to the vale where men lived, knew how to appreciate

the power of Christianity as a present reality, over the human soul:

"Religion of the Cross, thou blend'st, as in a single flower,
The twofold branches of the palm—humility and power."

It is thus that he exclaims in his *Knights of St. John*. And he does not speak from the depths of a Christian consciousness, in rigid antithesis to an intelligence which makes everything clear, as to a proud idealism of the reason, when he says in the *Words of Faith*:

"The child-like soul employs in simple guise,
What is but baldest folly to the wise."

A beautiful apology for Christianity lies in these very words. Our Lord accepts them himself when he says: "If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God, or whether I speak of myself;" and: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God;" and: "I thank thee, O, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." That the cause of human unhappiness does not rest with God, as the poem on *Resignation* seems to hold, but with man himself, and in his own sinfulness, is pronounced by Schiller in his *Bride of Messina*, in the words:

"The world is perfect everywhere,
Where man takes not his grief."

Also in the earnest, tragical conclusion:

"One truth revealed
Speaks in my breast;—no good supreme is life;
But, of all earthly ills, the chief is—guilt!"

Schiller opens before our eyes the wounds and the gap made by guilt, and allows us to look down into the depths of sin, but, at the same time, without leading us to the height from which the obligation is nullified, from which the balm flows into the wounds.

Yet, though Schiller did not penetrate the very essence of Christianity, which he often alludes to longingly, its hopes

were yet not foreign to him. "Even at the grave he plants hope." It seems as if we were listening to Klopstock when we read, in the Song of the Bells:

"Ah, seeds, how dearer far than they
We bury in the dismal tomb,
Where hope and sorrow bend to pray,
That suns beyond the realm of day,
May warm them into bloom!"

"These words," says Gustavus Schwab, "by which the poet has conquered so many thousands of hearts, are the utterance of the sorrowing and hoping son and brother. Are they irreconcilable with the truth? Are they a lie and deception of fancy? Then is the Christianity of the Bible an invention for fools, as has been said plainly enough, both formerly and latterly."¹

Of course, Schiller had his seasons when his view of the future was dark, and when he regarded the hope of personal duration as one of the supports needed by only the moral weakling; but yet it seems that when the poet inflicted wounds upon his own heart, he willingly leaned upon the same support which even Rationalism has boldly maintained as an essential prop of all religion, and which its great master, Kant, reckoned among the requirements of practical reason. As already remarked, Schiller, in his later years, deviated steadily from the Kantian philosophy, and plunged into poetry as his proper sphere of life. And though he did not seem by it to gain anything for Christianity, yet he acquired a more candid view of the nature of religious revelation, or at least an immediate sphere lying beyond what is intelligible to the reason,—a sphere of believing and longing

¹ We can still less unite with Schwab, when, in the following passage from Don Carlos, cited by him on p. 129, he regards Christ as in the poet's mind:

"But one, but one
So undeservedly hath died,
Since mothers have been bringing forth."

Marquis Posa refers, in these words, to his murdered friend, which is quite in harmony with Schiller's emotion.

perception, in which poetry and religion meet. In his poem, *The Artists*, written in 1789, we read:

"What first the reason of the ancient time
Dimly discovered, many a century flown,
Lay in the symbol types of the sublime
And beautiful—intuitively known."

How so, if this previous revelation had offered a connecting point in the symbol, in an artistic sense, to the friends of Christianity to come to an agreement with the poet himself on the nature of the religious revelation? But no opportunity was offered for this. Schiller died before he was inwardly finished, before his convictions reached a proper development. Would that he could have united with Herder! There is no knowing what those two minds could have produced upon others through the force of their authority, if they had both labored, with all their great power of expression, for a living and spiritual view of Christianity!¹ We learn from a person intimate with the poet, that, toward the end of his life, the effect of Christ's doctrine on the history of the world, and His pure and holy person, filled him constantly with the more inward and profound veneration. And it was chiefly on the authority of this declaration that the orator, on the occasion of the unveiling of Schiller's statue, expressed the hope, "that the heart of the great poet may not have been so far from Him whose name he mentioned but seldom,—a name which is above every name." But granted that Schiller did not personally come to any nearer connection with Christianity than that which his works present, we cannot overlook the fact that, after all, the individual can hardly be separated from the mass in which he lives, and that every one, however high his position, is supported by his times. This applies as well to the error as to the truth by which an age is governed. If we look at the idea of Christianity in its widest meaning, in opposition to paganism and antiquity, we shall find that Schiller's poetry is rooted in Christian history, in the Chris-

¹ That Schiller found his complement in Herder, see the *Briefwechsel mit Körner*, Vol. I. p. 281.

tian and modern view of the world, in spite of all his Gods of Greece, and of all his longings after the old poetical land of fable. As has been shown by others, an essentially Christian view of religion underlies his tragedies, particularly *Mary Stuart*, the *Maid of Orleans*, and *Wallenstein*, as well as many of his ballads and romances; and "even where the poet derives his material from mythology, he transforms it by giving it a heart. In short, he occupies an infinitely higher standard than antiquity."¹ And he owes this to Christianity itself.

Thus much on the question whether Schiller may be called a Christian poet. We should make a special statement of his relation to Protestantism in particular. If Protestantism consists only in protesting against false piety, hypocrisy and hierarchism, in fighting for freedom of mind and thought, and for political and religious independence, who would hesitate to place Schiller in the front rank of combatants? And in this sense we, too, call him a Protestant, and would also designate his Protestantism a noble one, and worthy of recognition as a Protestantism which, with all its defects, is easily distinguishable from mere tumultuous and raging revolutionism. Schiller's soul was thoroughly animated by a burning indignation against everything degrading to man and his reason, and deriding the dignity of the human race. He says, in reference to *Don Carlos*: "I will not only make it my duty to avenge prostituted humanity, but to expose its blemishes in their hideous light." In these words he not only expressed the real task of that poem, but of his life. We have already observed, that this Protestantism is not the real form which we seek, and which we are studying in the present history; but no one can deny that Schiller's zeal was also shared by the punitive spirit of Luther.²

¹ Schwab, p. 150.

² Yet Schiller by no means sought a reformation by mere destruction. "Destruction," he writes, "is an ignoble business for great strength, so long as there is something to be created." He recommends "wise moderation toward opinions, feelings, and institutions which contain a germ of human worth that is really deserving of development." See the *Briefwechsel mit Körner*, Vol. II. p. 301.

It seems remarkable to us that Schiller, as a historian, should choose just those sections of modern history where the great religious conflict called forth by the Reformation was waged,—the Revolt of the Netherlands, the Thirty Years' War, and the French Religious Wars. True, he does not give prominence to the deeper religious motives,—as, for example, Gustavus Adolphus is only appreciated from his political standpoint,—but yet no one will deny that the whole is pervaded by a decidedly Protestant sentiment, in which we perceive bone of our bone and flesh of our flesh. But has not Schiller, as a poet, coquetted with Catholicism also? Has he not presented to us in Mary Stuart a martyr, and done violent injustice to Elizabeth? In his *Going for the Iron Hammer*, has he not pictured the mass with approval; and, in his *Rudolph of Hapsburg*, even praised the worship of the host, and the priests bearing it? I do not think that any man will seriously charge Schiller with a Catholic tendency because of these two last poems, a tendency called forth far more by Romanticism than by him. At most, we can only discover in them that indifference by which the poetic impression passes over everything else,⁴ and which therefore subsidizes every religious form. But even this admission is not necessary. True Protestantism knows the historical connection of the forms of Catholic worship, and can appreciate them in their proper place, and it is only narrow bigotry that would confine the poet in his creations to the portrayal of what is merely confessional. As for his *Mary and Elizabeth*, the only charge we can justly make against him is his abuse of poetic freedom, not only in idealizing historical persons, but in actually giving them a character opposed to their real one.

But enough on Schiller's person. If we now look at his influence on his times, we can only say that it was enormously great, and that it still continues. In proof of this, to be acquainted with Schiller, to have read him, and to quote passages from him, were regarded a number of decades ago, and even now, in many circles, as the proof of one's belonging to the cultivated world. True, the educated people

of to-day require something more than this; indeed, he who would pass in the highest circles as cultivated, must somewhat shrug his shoulders over Schiller in order to exalt Goethe, although, to our very youngest generation, Goethe has in turn become quite an old man, whom some very young gentlemen would quite disregard. Yet Schiller has his worshippers and admirers in all conditions and classes; and though it may earlier have been the sign of culture to admire him one-sidedly and exclusively, yet the really educated man, just because he is of true and liberal culture, delights in the abundance of Schiller's genius, and a youth who is not puffed up will always be fascinated by him.

Just this is a proof of the power of Schiller's muse, and if we would see in the influence which he has had, and still has, only perversion and mischief, we should thoroughly mistake the development of German national education as well as of the different vital elements of Protestantism. Only a narrow and bigoted Christianity would decide absolutely against the influences of art and culture; but such a form of Christianity will never be able to rise above narrow sectarian limits, and be developed into a universal religion. Or, who would deny that the sense of the sublime and beautiful, as fostered particularly by Schiller, is not only compatible with Christianity, but that it is ennobled and purified by it, and by this very means can be extended far beyond Schiller himself? As the study of the ancient Greeks and Romans exerts a cultivating and promoting influence, even in a Christian respect (according to the testimony of all sensible people), so can and must our German classical writers, whose general view is taken from a Christian standpoint, serve, in the hands of Christian teachers, as means for improving the taste and ennobling the language. A Christian zeal that would banish them from our schools, or from our homes and libraries, would certainly not be advisable; it would only cause our youth to hunger for forbidden fruit, and withhold from them an essential department of their education, thus making their education defective. But the overvaluing of Schiller's poetry, the surfeit of his materials, and the supremacy accorded for

some time to his writing and thinking, is certainly just as wrong. We are reminded of Knapp's words:

"I like them not,
Those who, far from the golden mean,
Are borne by the party current.
One thou condemnest to judgment,
Another thou makest a saint.

Some fancy thee far from the day;
Others, that thou art in the light;
Some take the child out of the bath,
While others would drown it outright.
Prejudiced souls are ever most ready
The worship and deeds of genius to raise;
They are constantly wild and opposing,
Unless, as all glorious, their deeds you praise."

It is now generally acknowledged, as is shown by the controversy on the preëminence of Schiller or Goethe, that we cannot praise everything in Schiller, and that even on the score of art and taste, there is much in his poems that we must censure. But the overestimation is much more one-sided in a moral respect, and, where fanatically adhered to, can assume a position of antagonism to Christianity. But as every tendency is asserted for a time with a partisan spirit, until it is conquered by another, or directed into its proper limits, so do we find it the case in the present instance. The more Schiller's thinking comprised elements contradictory to the previous Christian and ecclesiastical thinking, so much the more voraciously did the young, thirsting for something new and fresh, seize his writings. The Words of Faith were now much more pleasing to many a young man than the Apostolic Creed, carelessly learned in the catechism. The enchantment of beautiful language dragged many a mind into a sort of sentimental fanaticism, and the ideal striving for the divine satisfied many who did not care if they stumbled, "provided Schiller himself stumbled everywhere." Instead of seeking the forgiveness of sins by the hard and wrestling path of Christian penitence, and by working out salvation with

fear and trembling, it was easier to unite in the chorus of joyful companions:

"Sinners all shall be forgiven,
And hell shall be no more."

But we must not pass too severe a sentence on this phenomenon. We cannot always see in it sheer recklessness or hardness, and, indeed, not always a formal denial of Christianity. It is a fact, that the forms in which Christianity then expressed itself had become too contracted for the tempestuous spirit of the times. Secular education had overtaken and outstripped spiritual. There were still learned and even believing theologians; but there were few, endowed with Herder's spirit, who knew how, or even strove, to satisfy the demands of the mind as well as of the conscience, those of the church as well as of education. And those who made the attempt occupied 'an oblique position, and incurred the danger of becoming miserably incomplete. True, Herder himself, as we have already seen, did not seem at all times and in an equal degree capable of the high task of representing Christianity and humanity in their unity. How can we be surprised, therefore, if many preachers to whom the Kantian tone was disgusting, and who felt that there was a necessity of having something besides the Categorical Imperative by which to elevate and excite the mind, should now, with Schiller, attempt this, by bringing into the pulpit, before the people, the favorite poet who was loudly applauded in the theater, and by reciting passages from him, or preaching in high-flown Schillerian phrases.¹ Thus people sought to supply by sentimentality that heartiness of religious feeling of which Rationalism was devoid; and, consequently, they made use of empty declamation. Oddly enough, the dryness of a shallow system of morality often alternated, in one and the same sermon, with the insipidity of flowery bombast.

But what now appears in the main as a remarkable crisis in the later history of morals, is the nearness in which the

¹ Many sermons commenced with such words as these: "There are moments in human life."

theater and the church were thrown together, and the wonderful interchange of their legitimate work which here took place, so that people might well believe that now they heard the preacher on the stage, and now the comedian in the pulpit. We must delay somewhat longer with this phenomenon, and go back to earlier historical precedents.

The early Christian church, which had striven to eradicate every recollection of the old idolatry, naturally forbade its members to visit heathen spectacles, partly because the latter were connected with the pagan religion, and partly because a barbarousness of feeling was produced in the mind by a certain class of spectacles (the gladiatorial fights), for Christianity could not do otherwise than hold them in abhorrence. After heathendom was conquered, and the world in the Middle Ages had become the supporter of an ecclesiasticism and Christianity that were in many respects merely outward, there arose a change in this respect. People loved to represent dramatically even spiritual subjects, Biblical narratives, and ecclesiastical mysteries. The clergy and their students even exhibited such dramas in the cloisters, and respectable civilians in the cities looked upon such exercises as an innocent pastime. Together with more serious pieces, there were also the rude jest and coarse farce, which only seldom ascended to a truly national and artistic character. The earnest moral spirit of the Reformation gradually assumed toward the drama the same position that original Christianity had occupied toward heathendom. In the processions and masks which had often found their way unbecomingly into the sanctuary of the church, men saw the remains of a papal heathendom, that were very properly abhorred, though here and there the carnival-plays, as those of Manuel in Berne, were made use of to spread the ideas of the Reformation among the people.

But it was not a mere accident that, soon after the period of the Reformation in the church, Shakespeare, born in 1564, appeared as the creator of the new theater, and, in his masterly works, collected a world of profound observations, drawn from the inmost nature of man. But neither the sixteenth nor the seventeenth century appreciated Shakespeare's

genius, and the English nation was not destined to introduce its great countryman into universal history; but it was reserved for the great Germans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to direct attention to the internal substance of Shakespeare's plays, and to the exhaustless wealth of ideas that here take shape and display their power. All the great poets and literary men of that period, Lessing, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, and the Schlegels, however differently they thought on other subjects, here united in the admiration, and partially in the imitation, of their great British prototype. And thus it might be expected, that, with such studies, there would necessarily arise in the Christian Protestant world quite a different view of the importance of the drama and the task of dramatic art from that which prevailed when people were only accustomed to regard the theater as a source of worldly dissipation.¹

The more seriously dramatic art was regarded at this time, the more the effort was made to secure to the theater an honorable position, and to elevate it to a moral power. The great work of laying hold upon man's inmost nature, of leading him to a knowledge of his higher dignity, of opening to him a loftier and ideal world, far above the employments and pressure of the every-day life, was now regarded as the true mission of the theater; and thus there sprang up between this institution and the church, which had fully believed, from

¹ It is due to the troublous times of the Thirty Years' War, and to the tedious calamitous circumstances succeeding them, that the theater of Germany did not earlier rise to the height to which we have seen it. Afterward, the French taste conquered all healthy development of nationality. Pietism, which pronounced a severe sentence on all secular pleasures, also felt called upon to condemn the theater, which it could only look at from this standpoint. Yet it is remarkable, that just here Spener was more mild in his judgment. Comp. *Vorlesungen*, Pt. IV. p. 217 (2nd Ed.). On the whole, the Lutheran church has been less severe here than the Reformed, as in other matters. As for the rest, we refer to the writings of Wessenberg, *Ueber den sittlichen Einfluss der Schaubühne* (Zürich, 1825), Stäudlin, *Geschichte der Vorstellungen von der Sittlichkeit des Schauspiels* (Göttingen, 1823), and Alt, *Theater und Kirche, in ihrem gegenseitigen Verhältniss historisch dargestellt* (Berlin, 1846).

its origin, that this was its own mission, quite a peculiar kind of rivalry, the possibility of which had never been thought of during the earlier period of orthodoxy. And even Pastor Goetze had been compelled to learn that the same man who reformed the German theater also applied his critical knife to the sore spots of Protestant theology, and made his incisions in them as in the healthy places.¹ And thus it might even be surprising that Schiller should appear after Lessing, and that the former would even elevate the stage to a moral and religious institution, which the modern state would need above all for its invigoration and strength. In his treatise: *The Stage regarded as a Moral Institution*, delivered in the year 1784 before the Electoral German Society at Mannheim, he declares, in all seriousness, that the mission of the drama is religious, and that religion will not be secure against overthrow until it enters into union with the stage. The stage is to him a symbolized final judgment, in which virtue finds its reward and vice its punishment; more than any other institution of the state, it is to him a living mirror of morals, a school of practical wisdom, an infallible key to the secret passages of the human soul. Only in the theater can the great men of the world hear the truth, and see man in his true character. "The stage," says Schiller, "is the common passage down which the light of wisdom streams from thinking and better people, and from which it spreads in mild beams throughout the state. It is the school of toleration, and from it we can anticipate an advantageous effect upon education." What had previously been expected of the church, that it would elevate man by its consolations above the afflictions of life, was expected by Schiller of the theater. "The stage receives us when grief gnaws at the heart, ill-humor poisons our lonely hours, the world and business disgust us, and a thousand burdens oppress the soul. In this artistic world we dream away the real one; we are restored to our-

¹ See Vol. I. p. 282 ff. On Goetze's opinion on the theater, see Stäudlin, *Geschichte der Vorstellungen von der Sittlichkeit des Schauspiels*, p. 187 ff. The opinion here given of the Theological Faculty of Göttingen is also interesting.

selves; our sensibility is awakened, and healthy emotions arouse our slumbering nature, and drive the blood into fresh currents. The unhappy man here weeps away his own grief as he looks at that of another," etc.

It is remarkable that in his eloquent panegyric on the stage, only mention is made of the removal of trouble, and, as for the boasted moral effects of the theater, Schiller is honest enough to confess that Molière's Miser does not improve any usurer, and that the most highly colored pictures of crime have never restrained man from crime itself. Indeed, he has far more strongly expressed himself on this point in a previous essay on the German theater, in 1782, where he seems candidly to despair of good being accomplished by once witnessing a theatrical play. However, the view that the stage is a school of morals, and, perhaps, of still more salutary influence than the church, was expressed with increasing clearness, and in this light the theater was protected against the objections of the clergy. Different ways were taken, according to circumstances, for reaching this end. People either went beyond themselves in horrible and repulsive representations of crime, so that once the well-known Schröder offered a prize for the best tragedy on fratricide,¹ or the distinct character of the drama was given up, and, instead of representing life in the light of art, there were preaching, philosophy and moralizing on the stage itself. Thus arose those moralizing plays in which Iffland, in particular, bore a conspicuous part, but of which Schiller, in his Shakespeare's Shade, made sport:

"When vice is paid off with shame, virtue earns her reward."

The dangerous proximity of the theater and the church, and the remarkable change of parts that here took place, were evidently rooted in a confusion of ideas, a disease from which our times are also suffering; for men require of art that it shall teach and improve, while its mission and strength lie in representation. Now, as the nature of religion was wrongly made to consist in morality, this error passed over into the requirements of art. The theater was elevated into

¹ See Gervinus, Vol. IV. p. 569.

a school of morals and the church reduced to a school of morals, while an æsthetical tinsel was hung around the neck of both. The pastor in the pulpit frequently mimicked the comedian, while the actor, in his place, imitated the pastor. The broad field of civil morals was shared by each, but not to the real advantage of either art or religion, or, eventually, of morality itself, for this last requires above all the seriousness of truth and the removal of all show.

But truth was wanting here as there. The play was sun-dered as far from the ideal of the grand and of the truly natural, as we see it in Shakespeare, as the sermon, in its turn, stood aloof from the only safe ground given to it in God's Word. With all the talk about naturalness, true nature was wanting; with all the speaking of morality, and all preaching on it in the pulpits and theaters, true morals, the profound ethics of Christianity, the real holiness of man, which is not satisfied with mere superficial emotions, but insists upon the transformation of the heart, were thrown in the shade. Aesthetic virtues took the place of Christian; an emotional heart was regarded as of more worth than a submissive and humble one; and the abhorrence of crimes painted in hideous colors, landed many a person beyond the deep source of sin into obscurity itself. Instead of seeing man as he is, as nature and the Bible show him to us, a human ideal was fancied, which can be found nowhere, and, instead of taking the relations of life as they are, and as God has arranged them, there arose on all sides and in all classes of society an increasing discontent with existing institutions. The hatred of all advantages of birth, of wealth, and of outward position in life, was nourished by overstrained ideas of human rights, as propagated in many of the plays of that day. People were accustomed to regard in princes, ministers, and presidents, as they passed upon the stage, the paragon of all wickedness, while virtue in the beggar's garb was the more affecting exception. The connubial and domestic relations, as ordained by Christianity, were frequently regarded from apparently freer and more ingenious points of view, and much was allowed, and even portrayed as duty, which Chris-

tianity had distinctly stamped as sin. A "criminal, by his lost honor," and a highwayman, through his magnanimity, awakened sympathy for their crimes; adultery was justified by "elective affinities," and suicide again appeared in the renewed glory of ancient heathendom. Though this charge cannot be laid at the door of the better dramas, nothing protected them against misconception, and evil, unless it was suppressed at its very outset, passed for good; for what theatrical criticism has ever been able to serve two masters: the higher moral law, and the caprices and lusts of the public?

Now, what had the church to do amid this increasing power of the theater, and the force of the recent poetry, which then appeared in increasing abundance in the form of romances? Clamors against, and derisions of, plays and romances in general were of no effect; serious and temperate voices of warning, as that of Herder, were either not heard at all or placed in the same category with the blind cry of the zealot. An unconditional accommodation to the taste of the times was still less advisable, and yet it frequently took place to an excessive degree.

There was not only approval of Schiller's monologues in sermons,¹ but it was thought best to help out the entire service in the Protestant church by a theatrical element, such as by the occasional introduction of operatic music,² and by the decoration of the church on special occasions, as at confirmations. The hymns, as already remarked, could no more draw a long breath; but there were all the more didactic

¹ The *Briefwechsel zwischen Schiller und Körner* (on Herder) is one among many proofs of how sadly the real character of the sermon was mistaken by the great minds of the century, and how people were inclined to use it for a mere enjoyment of art. Vol. I. p. 131 ff., and 149. Schiller thinks, namely, that a man of mind, who defends preaching, must be very contracted, or else a visionary or a hypocrite. To this, Körner replies: "Why should not the man of intellect take pleasure in a masterpiece of eloquence, which is in harmony with his purpose?"

² An Easter-hymn is said to have been sung to the tune of: "In these Holy Halls." The organists also dealt very freely with overtures and the like. Schiller, on the other hand, assigned the holiest mystery of the church, the celebration of the Lord's Supper, a place between the scenes.

religious poems, in which meditation appeared in a sentimental garb, and in which Schiller was chiefly remembered. I am here reminded principally of Tiedge's didactic poem, *Urania* (1801), in which heaven was set to music, and the Kantian faith in God and immortality gradually came to the knowledge of the doubter. The poem has unquestionably many beautiful passages;¹ but very few could have gained

¹ The very beginning of the poem expresses the doubter's pain, just as it may have passed through many souls:

"There burnt in me a life,
That promised laurelled days;
And on my youthful cheek,
There shone Hope's cheering rays.
On murmuring waves I saw
The picture Fancy drew,—
Proud, beauteous forms did glide,
Swan-like, before my view.
More swiftly flew the hours,
As I, half dreaming, stood,
Until, far as I saw,
A desert land I viewed.
A wider view I sought,
Though with unsteady light,
But only dreams I saw;—
Of truth I had no sight.
Poor is that light indeed,
Which only night reveals;
Weak is that faith indeed,
Which wisdom ne'er unseals."

In the same way, many a youthful spirit may have felt elevated by the following passage:

"Yes, friend, we shall not cease to be,
But in the beautiful and good
Will joy. Our life shall harmonize
With other souls of beauty rare.
Then will the searcher after truth
Behold the sacred mysteries;
And his virtues, calm and lustrous,
Shall soar away on freer wing
To higher realms of light. Then on
Its radiant brow will shine the seal
Of holy immortality."

from it a strong and victorious faith if they had not already been in possession of it, and had not been supported by other impressions. Witschel and others harmonize in the same notes. Every one may decide for himself, whether domestic edification was more promoted by the reading of such poems than by the singing of a hymn; but, in every case, it was a misconception on the part of those who attempted to elevate public worship by substituting metrical prayers for the old liturgical forms, just as if poetry, which had been violently banished from the service, could be again introduced by praying, with Witschel, instead of the plain words of the Lord's Prayer, as they stand in the Bible, such as these:

"Father, whom Jesus hath revealed,—
A name our spirit speaks with trust;
Father! Heaven keeps Thee not from earth,
Nor boundless space from those Thou lov'st."

Or, with Mahlmann:

"Thou hast Thy pillars placed,
And reared Thy temple high;
In it my eye of faith,
Thee, Father, doth descry.
Thy power divine is seen
In morning's splendor rare;
The myriad stars of night
Thy glory do declare!
All that hath life before Thee lies,
All that hath life to Thee replies:
'Father, in heaven Thou art.'"

We would not hereby impeach the value of these and similar poems, for there is in them, especially in Mahlmann's, an elevated element; they have also undoubtedly had a beneficial influence upon many a mind, particularly the young,—an influence far more salutary than the exciting political poetry now offered to us as that which alone can save us, and which our youth are reading with such eagerness. Therefore, we must do full justice to those poems, in their place.

But there was always a smack of the false theatrical taste, when there was a disposition to produce an effect in churches

by the public declamation of such prayers, or even to supplant them by the simple language of the Scriptures. There was evident here that unfortunate mixture of departments of which we have spoken, the total want of ecclesiastical perception, and the inability to bring out a noble production from the fullness of Christian life. But where was this fullness? As the fountain had been largely exhausted and filled up, where could fresh water flow? Yet even the sentimental aberration would have its day, for it was destined to pass away with Rationalism, with which it had leagued itself, to give place for other phenomena. But the relation of the recent poetry and of art in general to religion, and of both to morality, had to be penetrated more deeply, and each one traced back to its principles. This was not the work of one individual, but of many, in reciprocal, coöperative strength; it was not the mission of a few years, but of a number of decades, even of half a century, so that we cannot yet boast of being at the end of this process, although the elements have now become more settled and distinct.

But before we follow this process further, we must refer to the revolutions that took place in public and domestic education, which shall be the subject of our next lecture.

LECTURE VIII.

REFORM OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM.—HERDER'S VIEWS ON
BASEDOW.—HIS OWN EDUCATIONAL PRINCIPLES.—SCHOOL
ADDRESSES.—SALZMANN.—CAMPE.—PESTALOZZI, AND HIS
RELATION TO CHRISTIANITY.

We are firmly convinced, that the change in the religious and moral horizon about the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century, was thorough and multi-form. Everywhere we find a new tendency arising, and coming in conflict with the old. As Kant had thrown down the colossal edifice of the older philosophy, and given a new impulse to thought, so did Schiller and Goethe commence a new epoch in belles-lettres. Though Kant and Schiller pursued a widely different career, and their efforts seemed to be far apart, they really exerted one and the same influence; for one spoke with the keen criticism of the philosopher, the other, with the entrancing language of the poet; the one from the professor's chair, the other from the stage. They met together in the dissolving tendency opposed to the old forms of ecclesiastical life, and in the struggle after an ideal moral condition, which, instead of resting upon the positive support of revealed religion, was entirely based upon the power of freedom and the impregnable principles of reason. Thus Kantianism drew Rationalism after it, and the poetry of Schiller promoted that æsthetical sentimentality with which it was attempted to supply the aridity of Rationalism. It was with this new philosophy and new poetic tendency that the new principles of education were intimately connected;

not that these principles were first employed to make the new doctrines of the century more influential upon youth; but that they had no agreement with either one department or the other, yet gaining an influence through means apparently independent of both, they produced a powerful effect upon philosophy and poetry, and prepared their way to greater power.

Even before Kant gave birth to his Critique, amid the discussions of the so-called popular philosophers, and before Schiller's name was known, though in the period of intellectual awakening and literary fermentation, Rousseau's principles had begun to excite the heads and hearts of the Germans, and to strike their deepest root in the department of education, especially after the time of Basedow (whom we have treated already), who made philanthropism the great mission of German national culture.¹

Formerly, the church had directed education in the schools, and transplanted its own principles into the family, but the time of emancipation and of more general participation in the school-system had now arrived. A philanthropic training now arose beside the old one; one institution dispossessed the other, and one method superseded the other. Basedow was succeeded by Salzmann and Campe, both of whom, like their predecessor, strove to reform theology by education, and the church by the school; or, rather, to make each necessary to the other.

Before we examine more closely this disorganizing effort, and turn to the consideration of Pestalozzi, the noblest representative of later education, we must return to the earlier state of things, and look at the school in connection with the church. And here again we meet with the picture of Herder, an examination of whose principles on schools and education we have postponed until the present. It is remarkable that, though Herder was a man of progress, he nevertheless took the part of opposition rather than of friendship to all those movements which gave rise to the intellectual life of recent times. Thus, as we have seen, he declared against the critical

¹ Compare Vol. I. p. 301.

philosophy; nor could he give his undivided support to the tendency of Schiller's poetry. And of Basedow and his method of instruction he once expressed himself strongly to Hamann, that, from his personal knowledge of the man, he would not give him even calves to train, to say nothing of human beings.¹ "His method," says Herder, "is like that of a gardener who would take the taproot of the young oak completely out of the earth, to let everything above ground shoot out in trunk and branches."

But we would greatly err if we imagined that Herder preferred to adhere tenaciously to what was antiquated. On the contrary, he here displays his prophetic spirit, inasmuch as, beyond the innovations of his time, he already foresaw, and bore within himself, that lofty ideal reserved for later days to realize. Indeed, as in spite of all his opposition to Kant, his own efforts often coincided with those of that philosopher; and as he shared with Schiller the ideal elevation of the intellect, so do we find him harmonizing with Basedow and the philanthropists in many of their views concerning the reform of the school. He did not reject the ideas of Basedow in the lump; he was only opposed to the way in which he carried them out. As far back as 1769, Herder wrote a statement of his ideal of a school, in which he remarkably coincided with Basedow, though in some points he opposed him. With him, he expressed a decided dislike of the despotism exercised at that time in schools by the Latin language; and he called it papistical and Gothic.² It was his opinion, in common with the recent general sentiment on the pedagogical system, that boys should be taught a knowledge of things they see about them, before their memory is burdened with names of those far distant; and that therefore all instruction should be adapted, as far as possible, to the life and circumstances of the child. "It should be a chief aim of the teacher to give to the boy living conceptions of everything which he sees, speaks, and enjoys, so as to place him in his own world, and to impress

¹ See Hamann's *Werke*, Vol. V. p. 184.

² See *Schulreden, Anhang*, p. 269.

upon his mind the necessity of the enjoyment of it during his whole life time."¹

But however much Herder coincided with Rousseau and Basedow on human culture and the development of knowledge of the world, he could not agree with them in their refusal to instruct in the knowledge of divine things, and in the principles of religious culture generally. Here he stood on positive ground, and would have nothing to do with the arts by which children were first made acquainted with God, or with the soft by-paths in which it was thought they could best be brought to heaven. "Luther's Catechism," says Herder, in sharp contrast with the untimely philanthropizing and reforming, "must be committed to memory, and there remain forever. Its declarations are a treasure of duties and human knowledge. What Basedow says concerning the Jewish Decalogue may be said of it, that it contains a beautiful system of morals for children." He pronounces a similar opinion on Biblical narratives, which he would have carefully selected to suit the first stages of youth. It was Herder's sincere conviction, that sound Scriptural instruction will secure the respect and understanding of religion for all life, and that it is the best means of creating a new Christian public.

Herder's views on language and its growth, not less than on religion, were more profound than those of the realistic pedagogues of that time. How could he have undervalued linguistic instruction who spoke of language and reason as *one*? And when he found fault with the excessive use of Latin, he gave the greater glory to his mother tongue, to whose advancement he contributed excellent hints. His chief pedagogical principles were enunciated in his School Addresses, delivered at Weimar and collected and published under the name of Sophron. We find occasionally in them an echo of that ecclesiastical tone and firmness which ever became more scarce in the language of the schools. Herder was not ashamed to designate schools as the workshops of the Holy Spirit. "Our forefathers," he says in one of these addresses,

¹ *Schulreden, Anhang*, p. 271.

"termed schools the workshops of God's spirit; an ancestral designation which some may be surprised that I do not displace by calling them the temple of Apollo, the Muses, and the Graces. But the term, rightly understood, expresses a great fact, and in a truer and more spiritual manner than can be conveyed by all those idolatrous expressions concerning the temple of Apollo, the Muses, and the Graces."

All education, according to Herder, should aim to give to man an inner force, an indwelling wisdom, a clear vision, an acute understanding, and the Holy Spirit, without whom all acquired knowledge and accomplishment become only worthless apparatus and instruments of destruction. "How beautifully," he says, "does every perceptible trace of moral culture adorn the child and the young man! Is there anywhere a nobler brow or a more beautiful eye than in a person where discipline, modesty, sincerity, confidence, discretion, love, and the Spirit of God are centered? Is there more attractiveness of manners and features than such as you find constantly anointed for great activity with spotless innocence and mild pleasantness, as with the oil of gladness? The expression of the Hebrew young man who had been filled by the Spirit of God from his childhood: 'How then can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God' (the Holy One who is in me)?, is so beautiful and powerful that it seems able of itself to preserve a young man who possesses this Holy One and feels that he is a temple for the indwelling of the Divine Spirit, from everything sordid, degrading, and common. . . ." All distinguished characters have possessed this lofty feeling, which has distinguished them from lower minds, and preserved them from contact with the unworthy, vulgar and base. It was their protection and defence, their counsellor and watchman, their admonishing friend and attendant genius, who, instead of urging them along the broad highway of luxuriant fancy and lustfulness, impelled them to take the narrow way, and enter through the gates. He exclaims: "May God's Spirit return to the schools, to lay a solid basis in the young mind, to give it a strong and pure character, which will not allow itself to be seduced by the loose immorality, coarse insolence

and impertinent obtrusiveness that we now find in lavish plenty in so many books."

In the same address, and in several others, he expresses his sorrow at the rudeness of his times, the false worship of genius, premature authorship, and the wish to amuse, in a language which would be in place at the present time. We have already observed, that Herder's principles on religious instruction, even in his early plan for a school, deviated from the Philanthropia. He afterward remained true to his early convictions. "It is not well to moralize much on religion to children; but a permanent impression is made by explaining well the doctrines and proofs, and supporting the rules of morality by such a basis and example as are furnished by common life, and Biblical and other history." In accordance with these opinions he revised even the Lutheran Catechism, which he greatly preferred to all those new-fashioned catechisms that moralized and reasoned so much. "From the twenty or thirty catechisms," he wrote to his associates, "which I now have before me, I have derived much advantage; but there is no one which deserves, in all respects, to be made a basis, because in the most of them the language is too artistic, labored and theological, while the most shameful neglect prevails in others." Finally, Herder was interested in the establishment at Weimar of a seminary for the education of teachers; and it is not without importance in our times, when there is so much discussion on public schools and their necessary reforms, to know the views of a man whom we can by no means call a blockhead.

"The object of a seminary," Herder declares at the outset, "is not to endow the young people who wish to become country school-teachers with a useless kind of illuminism which may enable them to think themselves otherwise, and cause them to teach their future pupils more harm than good; for too much clearness and reasoning, thoughtlessly spread where they do not belong, contribute neither to the advantage of the state, nor to the happiness of the individual, nor to the well-being of lowly private life. Still less is it the purpose of the seminary to afford a comfortable existence to

young people, etc. But its only aim, apart from all the ostentation and pedagogical playthings of our times, is rather to furnish those young people who dedicate themselves to the profession of teaching with a good opportunity to learn what is really necessary and useful to their future calling, by instruction and self-discipline; for the best qualification of a school-teacher is only acquired by method and discipline." Herder, the great promulgator of humanity, was also far removed from all the effeminacy of the so-called philanthropism. Discipline was, in his opinion, the indispensable requirement of a good school. A large number can not be kept together without order, disposition, and regularity. "That is a good school which enjoins good discipline, much and rigid exercise in goodness and in all those qualities which should adorn youth. That is only a true and good gymnasium which, in virtues as well as in intellectual endowments, is a daily scene of conflict of noble souls, who strive to improve themselves by industry and emulation. Where this training and exercise in useful science and morality are wanting, you will see a Dead Sea, though inhabited by all the Muses." Thus far with Herder.

Proceeding to notice the further developments in the department of instruction, we come next to Salzmann and Campe. Christian Gotthilf Salzmann, who was born in the neighborhood of Erfurt, in the same year with Herder, 1744, was first a clergyman, and became pastor of a church in Erfurt. But in 1781 he voluntarily relinquished his pastorate, in order to coöperate in Basedow's Philanthropin in Dessau. While a preacher he published many educational works, in which he assailed the slow course of prevalent training; for example, in his *Crab-Book*, or *Advice on the Unreasonable Training of Children*. He likewise expressed himself decidedly for the illuministic tendency in religion, and laid down his views in his work on *The Best Means of Teaching Religion to Children*. In his *Conrad Kiefer*, or *Advice on the More Reasonable Training of Children*, he earnestly resisted the prevalent orthodox method of education, and especially the committing to memory such passages and verses as children could not yet

understand; he would prefer his Conradian dove should pick up grains rather than learn the catechism.

The department of religious instruction in the Philanthropin at Dessau was committed to him; and it was here that he delivered his Lectures on the Piety of the Institute, which he published in 1781—1783. Here, too, morality plays the chief part; it consists of a general religious feeling, and is often vitalized and invigorated by the sense of God's omnipresence and omniscience. Salzmann was unquestionably impressed by this religious feeling, as is manifested in his didactic romance, *Carl of Carlsberg on Human Misery*, and chiefly in his trust in God, which, like Stilling, he preserved in all his enterprises. In 1784 he left Dessau and established an institution of his own at Schnepfenthal, in Gotha, which soon attracted pupils from the different countries of Europe, and continued in its prosperous course until the beginning of the nineteenth century, when its glory began to wane. During the period of its prosperity he continued, by the agency of his popular and juvenile works, to propagate his new philanthropic principles of education, and to recommend a Christianity that manifests itself in love, in opposition to a dead orthodoxy. In his work on *Heaven on Earth*, whose language is sometimes fanatical, he earnestly recommends this love, and makes it appear as an angel, existing in every benevolent heart, making itself felt in the most intimate relations of life, and bringing us into nearness with God, whom, otherwise, we seek in vain high above the stars. In these times we are accustomed to associate the names of Basedow, Salzmann and Campe with that defective illuminism of the mind promoted by these men; but we should do at least Salzmann great injustice to deny him the possession of all religious feeling. We confess that this feeling approached that sentimentality spoken of in the last lecture, which not only strove to liberate itself from ecclesiastical forms but to array itself against them. But his apology must be found in the fact, that these forms were frequently hard and petrified, and sometimes appeared to combine the insensibility of a block with the orthodoxy of a zealous churchman.

Joachim Henry Campe, a man of less emotion than Salzmann, was born in Brunswick in 1746. He was a theologian at the outset, and in 1773 became chaplain to the regiment of the Prince of Prussia at Potsdam;¹ but subsequently, after Basedow's departure, he conducted the Philanthropin at Dessau. Afterward he took charge of a private school at Hamburg, which he in turn gave up. He died in 1818, at Brunswick, at the age of seventy-two. Campe constituted a strong contrast to the sentimentality prevailing in belles-lettres. He numbered poetry among the useless arts; even in barbarous times it was at most only a sorry substitute for the light of reason, but now can only be compared to a lantern in broad daylight, or, rather, to a lamp-post, before which no reasonable man should take off his hat.² With sectarianism and moral rigorism he forbade, in his *Paternal Counsel to my Daughter*, all association with literary characters, whom he regarded almost indiscriminately as the corrupters of youth.³ It is known that no one carried the theory of utility so far as he; and therefore the useful man, who knows how to help himself in all the conditions of life, was his ideal in education. His *Robinson Crusoe*, now widely known, bears on every page the theme: "Help yourself, and God will help you." And confidence in the help of God was, with him, not merely a figure of speech, for, however much Campe opposed the Protestant doctrinal system, and however bitter were his denunciations of certain parts of it,⁴ he yet made morality and self-conquest serious matters, and believed in a special divine control of our fortunes. He therefore believed also in the hearing of prayer.

This is that admirable, but still not fully appreciated, side

¹ His lectures are said to have been very attentively listened to, because of their moral import, by officers who had a low opinion of sermons in general.

² See *Theophron*, 1786, Vol. I. p. 175.

³ He said to Goethe himself, that he was unable to make much out of him or his art. See Goethe's *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. III. p. 332.

⁴ In his *Theophron* he calls original sin the doctrine of the atrabilious Augustine!

of Campe's character and of Rationalism in general: moral earnestness, and that clinging to religion, amid every conflict, as opposed to ecclesiasticism, and sometimes even to Christianity. Campe's mind was, on the whole, reformatory,—a trait that betrayed itself in the department of the German language, which, it is well known, he attempted to purify from all the foreign excrescences that had been constantly increasing since the French domination. His effort commands all respect. Purity of language is, in a certain sense, purity of manners, and Campe placed it on the same moral basis as Herder, who, though he opposed all foreignism, did not keep himself free from it. Campe would proceed radically, but from a Rationalistic or abstract theory, and without regard to historical development. It is with language as with religion, and with isolated words in a language as with single doctrines; such things do not allow themselves to be discovered, or dug out in the student's cloister, and thrust upon others by the exercise of arbitrary authority. Campe would forestall this development, and substitute words of his own manufacture for those foreign ones that had become established by force of time. His effort did not succeed. Language, like religious conceptions, must be purified by the influence of many other coöperative causes; it must be newly born of life itself, as was the case with Luther, and more recently with Goethe, who, notwithstanding his use of foreign words, was of more benefit to the German language than Campe with all his new words. And in the same way many a thing in religion and ecclesiasticism has been developed into life in quite a different and better manner than was marked out by the theory of Rationalism.

It now came to pass, even in education, that not only were theories originated and institutes founded, but a man of the people stepped forth from the common popular life, who, without calculation but with enthusiasm, devoted himself to the noble work of making the education of youth that great achievement for which the times were longing. We mean Pestalozzi. When Christ says: "By their fruits ye shall know them," and "whosoever receiveth one of these little

ones receiveth me," and when he praises practical love as the sign by which he recognized his disciples, and when he contrasts heathen care and anxiety with that trust in God which cares not for the morrow, but leaves all care to the Heavenly Father, the question is at once decided, whether John Henry Pestalozzi, whom we are now considering, was really a Christian.¹ Public opinion has in later days been divided concerning him, as concerning Schiller, some holding that he denied Christianity, while others are his ardent defenders.² As long as the Scriptures admonish us on the one hand to try the spirits, and ask, on the other: "Who art thou that judgest another man's servant?", we are furnished with indices sufficient for our information.

History most certainly enjoys the right to summon all, even the noblest, human characters, before its judgment-bar; and thus a history which undertakes to portray the development of Christian life in its most varied forms, possesses the right to ask, in reference to every personage: How, so far as we know, was he related to original Christianity? How far do we recognize the Christian principle in him? And it must not be regarded as want of affection or ingratitude, if, concerning such men as we highly esteem, and regard as the champions of their times, as formerly in the case of Schiller, and now with Pestalozzi, we should attempt to answer the question: "How was their general view of life related to Christianity?" We must be careful in judging the person himself; and even when we comprehend the fact, we, as erring men, must be on our guard lest our standard of Christianity be incorrect, or lest the deeds be reported to us so

¹ "The individuality of my strength lay in the vitality with which my heart impelled me to give and seek love wherever I could find it; to act and suffer pleasantly and meekly; to conquer and take care of myself. I knew no higher joy than the eye of gratitude and the grasp of confidence. I sought out the poor, and willingly tarried with them." Is any further confession needed?

² Ramsauer, *Kurze Skizze meines pädag. Lebens*. Oldenburg, 1838. On the contrary, F. K. Burkhardt, *War Heinrich Pestalozzi ein Ungläubiger?* Leipzig, 1841.

incompletely that we cannot form a correct judgment. The truth can be obtained only where such inquiries are conducted with care and modesty, in the interest of truth and in the spirit of Christian love; for a great mind is as little honored by excessive admiration, devoid of all criticism, as if its honor were attacked by passionate abuse and rough condemnation. We will, therefore, first consider Pestalozzi's character and works, that we may then form an opinion on the man. We can do this best by referring to the portraiture of him written a few years ago by one of the best educators in Basle.¹

Born on the 12th of January, 1746, Pestalozzi lost his parents very early, and grew up under the care of an afflicted mother and the watchful eye of a grandfather, the latter of whom preserved in ancestral simplicity the type of a pious evangelical preacher. His progress in school was unequal. Awkward and clumsy in his intercourse with students, his teacher prophesied that no good would ever come of him. Thoughtlessness and improvidence led him into many a difficulty in his youth; but his pure disposition compensated inwardly for many of the rough outward impressions, and his genial temperament helped him out of many sore embarrassments. Whenever he met with any great offence, he manifested the same confident spirit that we have seen in young Lavater, in his day.

Basedow, Salzmann and Campe had all chosen the theological career, but Pestalozzi early took a different course, and devoted himself to law. But he forsook this study too, having now determined to become a school-master. And he became such an one as few have been, or, as an enthusiastic admirer has called him, "a school-master of the human race." He was one fundamentally, and therefore in the highest sense of the term. At Neuhof, near Lenzburg, where his attempted

¹ A. Heussler, *Pestalozzi's Leistungen im Erziehungsfache*. Basle, 1888. Since then the Pestalozzi Celebration has occasioned the publication of many works, more or less important, concerning him. We would call special attention to K. J. Blochmann's *Heinrich Pestalozzi: Züge aus dem Bilde seines Lebens und Wirkens*. Leipzig, 1846. On Pestalozzi's Christian standpoint, compare the same work, p. 161 ff.

agricultural enterprise failed, he founded his Poor-School for the Children of Beggars, in 1775; and Isaac Iselin of Basle was one of the first who came to his aid. This man assisted him in the publication of his first popular book, *Lienhard and Gertrude*, in 1781, which, from his poverty, he had written upon the blank pages of old account books. Pestalozzi himself confesses, that, without his noble friend Iselin, he would probably have ever remained in the mire of obscurity. For there were but few who recognized his inner worth; ingratitude, and ignorance of his best opinions became his early lot; and his own incapacity for the outward management of his household matters caused him now, as later, many a difficulty. But Pestalozzi's greatness shone forth in its brightest glory after the misfortunes brought upon Germany by France, after the year of 1798, over the smoking ruins of Stanz, where, supported by the Swiss Directory, he became a faithful and loving father to the orphan children. He divided every morsel of bread with them, slept among them, and would not permit himself to become alienated from them either by their disgusting appearance or the unkind opinions of adults, until the storm of war drove him away and destroyed his orphan-asylum. He now became school-master in Burgdorf, in one of the smallest schools for teachers. It was here that he brought into use his method of elementary instruction, which, after long opposition and many prejudices, now obtained the first, though rather qualified, indorsement of the public-school authorities.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century Pestalozzi's pedagogical operations first began to arouse great attention. He had established a training school of his own at Burgdorf. His *Book for Mothers*, published in 1803, attracted notice; it became, to use the words of Krüsi, his scholar, the corner-stone of his new method, and henceforward there streamed forth men from a distance to coöperate in the Institute. Soon the praise of the extraordinary operations there drowned the reproaches of enemies, and even many of them were convinced of their error. Pestalozzi's name became European, for how could his narrow mother-country longer contain his

fame? Immediately the Helvetic government declared the institution at Burgdorf public, and belonging to the nation, and added to it a seminary for teachers. But the condition of things was soon changed by the Mediation. The Helvetic government resigned, the Castle in Burgdorf became the seat of a superintendent, and the Institute was removed to Yverdon.

But it now became so enlarged that it acquired a European importance. Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards, and even Russians and North Americans, sent pupils thither. A multitude of foreigners went hither and returned, and inquirers came from all directions to study the method of Pestalozzi, which, by this time, had become a subject of animated public discussion. Pestalozzi did not now stand any more alone; other teachers came to him, and, committing their scientific education to his hands, overlaid their own opinions with his. The intimate family circle enlarged itself into a small state, in which there were warlike expressions and much friction. Disorder gained the upper hand, and the work so increased upon the founder's hands that he seemed about to fall in the midst of its ruins. We will not follow the sad picture of its dissolution any further, for it still stands fresh enough in every one's mind; nor will we linger even at those disastrous and wild controversies that filled our public journals before the more serious political disorders came on. Pestalozzi was taken away. After the downfall of the Institute, in 1825, he withdrew to Neuhof, whence his work had set out and where, in the house of his grandson, who was his only descendant, he spent the remainder of his days, dying at Brugg, on the 17th of February, 1827, a few years before the outbreak of the political storm. On the 19th of February his body was interred at Birr, while the ground was covered with snow, the burial being quiet and unostentatious, and only attended by the simple singing of the youthful villagers.

We cannot here enter upon the method itself, so far as it aimed at the universal development of man; for this was its purpose, quite in accordance with what the age had in

view in its call for humanity. The most of us are intrusted with the chief principles of Pestalozzi's method, and much that owed its rise to him has already passed over into our schools and houses, though very properly under many limitations and amplifications. The instruction of the intuitions, in opposition to a dead and spirit-killing mechanism, and the self-conscious and active employment of the simplest elements of our thinking, in number, word and form, are the object kept in view by later education. And though a new mechanism has often been planted beside the old, and here again the letter has attempted to rise above the spirit, great progress has nevertheless taken place in the common-school education of Germany and Switzerland during the last decades, in comparison with its earlier condition. We do not assert that Pestalozzi alone brought all this to pass; it has been justly shown already that the most of what he consummated had been initiated by others, not only by Rousseau and Basedow, but also by earlier persons, such as Comenius. But it has also been as justly remembered, that what Rousseau attempted with a simulated pupil, has been realized, though with modifications, by Pestalozzi upon real men, and that what was already existing in scattered ideas was collected by him into a focus.

This is true of all new ideas. It could be said even of Christianity, that many of its principles and moral laws already existed, and that others had thought of a reformation of the church before Luther's time. But who does not recall the egg of Columbus? The secret of a remarkable deed in connection with a man and his name is, that where others counsel, think, doubt, desire, hope and attempt, another pierces with the power of lightning; and that which is only a type, shade, and mere theory to some, becomes work to another; thought is clothed with words; words are endued with flesh and blood, and the deed is brought to pass. But here we should praise the service of men less than Providence, who, when the time is fulfilled, knows well how to send the chosen one to accomplish the work, and often needs the single individual as his instrument only for a season, as with

Pestalozzi, and then lets him pass away, to make room for others to complete what he began.

It now remains for us to notice more carefully Pestalozzi's relation to Christianity, and especially to its Protestant form. No one who can transport himself to that time will find fault with Pestalozzi for opposing, like Basedow, Salzmann and Campe (whom he knew nothing of when he commenced his work independently of them), the dullness of that enjoined orthodoxy which considered that it had done everything when it had beaten the catechism into children, and, in its zeal, forgot real faith and true love, and for resisting a lazy Christianity of memory and forms, or a "paper-science," as Pestalozzi was accustomed to call it. We here discover the Protestant, in whom the essence of Christianity takes the place of the form, and in whom the spirit preponderates over the letter. But it is a further question: How far the essence of Christianity was clear to himself, and how far his work proceeded from the deep spirit of Christianity?

And we may here state the doubt, whether the real nature of Christianity, in its widest signification, was clear to him, since he himself made this confession, in 1820: "I shall remain in a certain kind of obscurity concerning the most of my opinions until I go to my grave, but yet it is a holy darkness, the only light in which I can live." Here lies the key to a great deal. Christianity also remained a holy darkness to the noble mind of Pestalozzi, but yet there arose in it many a star, which revived his courage in his rough path. He who seeks to find in Pestalozzi the theological dogmatist, who knows how to give a good account of his faith, will search in vain. Pestalozzi is distinguished in this respect from Basedow, Campe and Salzmann, because he did not attempt, as they did, to theologize Christianity, and convert it into Rationalism.¹ Since he connected everything directly with

¹ "Faith," he teaches, "must be produced by faith, and not by the knowledge and understanding of doctrine; love must be produced by love, and not by the knowledge of love and of the lovely; and art must come from knowledge, and not from the manifold reports of knowledge and art." Blochmann, *Heinrich Pestalozzi*, etc., p. 126.

life, Christianity had but little interest to him; and the prevalent Rationalism was as unable as orthodoxy to satisfy him. In religion, he was a man of feeling and a child of promptings. The religious feeling seemed rather to come over him in moments of enthusiasm than to be a theme of quiet reflection and a principle controlling his whole life. Hence he never produced such a religious effect as when, in his elevated seasons, he prayed aloud in his circle of teachers and scholars, or even late at night in his bed-chamber; and even those who doubted his Christianity must confess that he could pray impressively.¹ And when, as was reported, the devotional exercises of the Institute became less earnest, and were confined to moralizing, Pestalozzi disapproved of it; he complained that the Bible was too little read, and exulted that it had been different in his earlier life. But notwithstanding this, we are assured by the official report of a committee appointed by the Diet in 1810, that actual instruction in Christianity was first imparted to those to be confirmed after a course in natural religion, and only at the expressed desire of parents. Thus Christianity was placed outside the Institute, and not within it as a light to shine upon all within the house.

But we should not forget that, Christianity being in such a crisis, it was not easy for the individual to find out where he was, amid this whirl of opinions. Pestalozzi expressed himself on Christianity very variously. At one time he said: "I hold Christianity to be nothing else than the purest and noblest modification of the doctrine of the elevation of the spirit over the flesh, and the great mystery and only possible means of raising our inmost nature to its true dignity; or, to use plainer language, to establish the dominion of reason over sensuousness by the inner development of the purest feelings of love. This, I believe, is the essence of Christianity, but I do not think that there are many men naturally fitted to be Christians,"—and he takes this occasion to confess the fact, that he is not really a Christian, because he does not

¹ Comp. Burkhardt, *War Heinrich Pestalozzi ein Ungläubiger?* p. 18.

find himself endowed with a capacity to arrive at religious excellence by the conquest of himself. But, at another time, he recognizes Christ as the only High Priest, who has taught us to pray to God in spirit and in truth; indeed, he even speaks of praying to Christ as a prerequisite to following him, and longs for a return, for himself and mankind, of those delightful days when there was joy over the Savior and his birth. In his Report to the Public, in 1820, he says: "I hold, that to know the Biblical history, and particularly the life, sufferings and death of Jesus Christ, and then to learn the most inspiring passages of the Bible in a childlike manner, are the necessary beginning and essence in religious instruction; and there must be specially united therewith a paternal care to make children deeply sensible of the great value of praying in faith."

The remarks of Pestalozzi to his family in 1818 prove how firmly he believed, in his later years, that the salvation of the world and of his own family could be expected only through Christ. And herein lies the essential element of Christian faith, notwithstanding all its different interpretations. After the old man, who had now reached his seventy-third year, had made a general confession, and had appealed to all hearts in behalf of his declining institution, he closed with these words: "Love one another as Jesus Christ hath loved us. 'Charity suffereth long and is kind; charity envieth not; charity vaunteth not itself, is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly, seeketh not her own, is not easily provoked, thinketh no evil; rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.' Friends! Brethren! 'Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you;' heap coals of fire on the heads of your enemies; 'let not the sun go down upon your wrath;' when you bring your gift to the altar, 'first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.' Let all relentless harshness be far from our house. Let it not be entertained toward one who is unjust to us. Let all human severity be destroyed by the mildness of our faith. It must lose itself in the mildness of Christian

faith. Let no one of you excuse his unkindness toward one who has been sinful and unjust. Let no one say, that Jesus Christ has not loved the sinner. He has loved him. He has loved him with divine love. He has died for him. He did not die to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance. He did not find the sinner faithful, but made him faithful by his own faith. He did not find him humble, but made him humble by his own humility. Truly, it was by the lofty, divine service of his humility that he conquered the pride of the sinner, and chained him by faith to the divine heart of his love. Friends! Brethren! If we do this; if we love one another as Jesus Christ hath loved us, we shall overcome every obstacle to the great end of our lives, and be able to establish the welfare of our house on the eternal rock on which God himself, through Jesus Christ, has founded the prosperity of the human family.”¹

¹ *Werke*, Vol. IX. p. 298.

LECTURE IX.

INFLUENCE OF PESTALOZZIANISM ON RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.—
THE TASK OF THE CHURCH IN RELATION TO THE GREAT
CHANGES OF THE TIMES.—HAMANN AND CLAUDIUS AS
SPIRITED DEFENDERS OF THE OLD ORTHODOXY.—HAMANN:
SCENES FROM HIS LIFE, AND EXTRACTS FROM HIS WORKS.

Having attempted in the last lecture to portray Pestalozzi chiefly in his relation to religion, we are now required to answer the inquiry: How far did his labors influence the tone and tendency of his times? At first glance, this influence does not seem to have been very great, if we only consider the strict form of the Pestalozzian method, which was attended with as much opposition from one quarter as with favor from another. The opposition did not come alone from the orthodox and the adherents of the old faith, but from men who, like Niemeyer, espoused the new rationalistic tendencies, and felt it their duty to guard others against the disadvantages and one-sided application of the method, while they dealt strict justice to Pestalozzi as a man. We would not decide our question by the number of those who espoused his method, for we believe that his real influence was much greater than that exercised simply by it.

It is somewhat with Pestalozzi as with Kant and his philosophy. There were comparatively few strict Kantians who adhered to his system in every particular; and yet, as we have seen, it exerted a wonderful influence upon the age, so that many thought in a Kantian manner without either knowing or desiring it. It seems as if certain ideas, once set in

motion, dwell in the air and communicate themselves to mankind. This was the case with Pestalozzi. Though the attempt was made during his lifetime to deprive him of his power, and there was much dispute about the meaning and expediency of his method, a permanent impulse was given to popular instruction; and the general interest in education which had sprung up since Rousseau and Basedow took a wider form and increased in all classes. The most significant fact in connection with Pestalozzi's labors is a marked characteristic of the times; namely, an increased interest in pedagogic life and labors, which was considered a political and artistic step, a greater respect for childhood and school-children, and more attention bestowed upon them. As already observed, education had hitherto been placed in the hands of the church. But after Pestalozzi published his *Book for Mothers*, no mother was willing to remain behind the demands of the times; and as the independence of domestic training continued to increase, the same method applied to public instruction, a step which caused collision with the church. Ecclesiastical training was charged with being contracted and gloomy; but now the spacious, pleasant school-rooms must form a contrast with the Gothic twilight of the church which, like other mysterious things of the times, had become incomprehensible, and therefore uncomfortable. These improvers of the world loudly boasted that the salvation of future generations would radiate from the schools. It was hoped that the old church would die simultaneously with the old people and the old pastors.

It can be easily seen that a change had come, not only upon the method, but upon the whole view of the nature and life of childhood and youth, and also upon the conception of the nature of man and its possible development. In the former period little was said of hopes placed in the future improvement of mankind. On the contrary, there was loud complaint that the times would always be growing worse. "Youth has no virtue," and similar proverbs were heard. The great service of education was made to consist in making children prematurely old and "grave," and in breaking their will betimes.

In every youthful mischief, and frequently in lively impulses; attempts were made to trace original sin, which could not be destroyed too speedily and radically. It was thought that true wisdom dwelt only in those old fathers who, amid severe chastisements, had grown gray in the service of God. But how often were old customs mistaken for real holiness!

How changed the scene! Every thing old went out of date, and while children in former days had been turned into old men, old men now came back again to childhood. How vitally and openly did this rejuvenation occur in Pestalozzi himself! In this desire for youth there is something beautiful and quickening, and it is supported by a powerful utterance of Christ: "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." This truth had either been unheard in the good old times, or people would not lay it to heart, fearing lest the doctrine of original sin and human depravity would disappear. But here, as ever, it was very easy to go from one extreme to the other. A false value was soon placed on what was called the youthful sense; even the bad manners of children were deemed lovely; and what were once considered the evidences of original sin were now regarded the exuberant growth of early genius. The insolent and unbridled behavior which appeared in the Pestalozzian institutions with increasing extravagance, was esteemed the vigorous development of a youthful love of freedom; and the "freedom and equality" of which so much was heard in the great outside world, were imitated in school and at home. Children were fondled, and told to their face that they were smarter than old people, who had become stupid and mechanical; they were tickled and incited to criticize; they were taught to discuss instead of obey.

All this had its influence upon the religious instruction imparted by the church. The Lutheran Catechism, which had been recommended by Herder, and the Heidelberg Catechism in Reformed countries, had once furnished nearly all the so-called "milk-food of youth;" but these old catechisms now vanished, and in their place came the new ones, which were soon found to be much more tedious and impracticable than

their predecessors had been. From the days of Salzmann and Campe the literary market had been flooded with juvenile publications, so that, as Lichtenberg wittily says, men were forgotten in the excessive attention to children.¹

In the most of these juvenile works great stress was laid upon either sentimentality or the morality of utility. The magnificent Biblical narratives were left in the background by the light ware of fabricated stories, such as have teemed forth by the thousand down to our day, and in which there is but little that is really child-like and of a pure tone. Indeed Campe sometimes stops in his Robinson, even in the best parts of the story, to delay his young readers with those moral conversations which the shrewdest of the number pass over.² Instead of the precocious orthodoxy desired in the youth of earlier days, there now sprang up a still more precocious moralism and Rationalism, which were much less adapted to the youthful disposition, and far more injurious, than the old religion inculcated by the catechism.

What did the church do in the meantime? There were some within its fold who endeavored to accommodate themselves to the period, but not always with success. Before the time of Pestalozzi, or at any rate independently of him, the attempt had been made to instruct children according to the Kantian principles, which proposed that distinct ideas be awakened in a child by questions and answers. It was a logical playing with questions,³ a method which not

¹ See Gervinus, Vol. V. p. 351. Yet the opinion which this author passes upon the juvenile literature of our most recent times is clearly bitter and unjust, when he speaks of the unproductive scribblers who "lay their Easter-eggs and ornament their Christmas-trees every year." The worthy writer of children's books here attacked (a Roman Catholic priest) has already received the thanks of many parents, and Protestants among the number.

² Ibid.

³ From Gräffe's *Katechetik* (1797), Vol. I. p. 208, we may derive an example of how a child's mind was approached, to prepare it for comprehending religious ideas. "Suppose," says the author, "that I wish to make a child acquainted with the idea of memory; I must first call attention to many things on which this idea is based: What was the

- only conferred no benefit upon the heart but was of an equal disadvantage to the head, for it was to the head that everything was directed. It was also attempted, in connection with the Biblical narratives, to deprive children of the charm of the miraculous, and to substitute moral discourses, which were designed to make an immediate impression. This proved an injury to the church. On the other hand, by virtue of the new impulse given to popular instruction in Germany and Switzerland, the demand was made upon the church to appropriate whatever was useful in these efforts, and the preacher was compelled to come out of the old path, and bethink himself of means for quickening and invigorating the religious instruction of youth.

Taking a retrospective glance over our field, still regarding our subject independently of all the contemporaneous political movements, we shall perceive that the new view taken of the world, in antagonism to the former, possesses three distinct phases: that of philosophy by Kant; that of art and belles-lettres, and especially of the stage, by Schiller and Goethe; and, finally, that of education by the philanthropists, and, in higher potency, by Pestalozzi. And by each of these agencies

name of that ungrateful son who tried to dethrone his father? Absalom. How long ago did I relate his history? Two weeks. What did I tell you then about Absalom? That he hung under an oak, and was stabbed by Joab. Who told you this history? You. When one thus relates anything to you, can you *remember* it? What do you now remember; what can you remember? Every thing which you tell me. When one tells something to very old people, what is it that they cannot remember long at a time? What was told to them. What takes place, therefore, with very old people? They forget easily. But when I tell you to come and see me the day after to-morrow, you will surely not forget it? But you will *remember* it? When some one tells you anything, what can your soul do? Remember it. How long will you remember what you have told me? Oh, as long as I live. What will you still know after many years? That I have talked with you. How long, therefore, can you remember something so as not to forget it? Many years, etc." Such folly men were not ashamed to term *Socratic*! Equally remarkable with the foregoing is the circuitous route through all lands, and seas, and finally among all the stars, by which the author would lead the heart of the child to the destined point: admiration of divine omnipotence.

the church was threatened with the loss of its hereditary possessions. While the Kantians seriously attempted to substitute the pure ethics of the Categorical Imperative for the old doctrines of the church, Schiller, with equal seriousness, recommended the theater as the civil school of moral culture; and the friends of the new educational system, in their desire to advance humanity, felt it their bounden duty to prefer an enlightened class of teachers to the despised priestly caste. What, then, was the position and task of the church? Was it able, or did it dare, to resist the pressure of these new elements of culture, these demands of the age? Must it declare war against the new philosophy, the new literature and art, and the new educational method? Or would it turn its back contemptuously upon them? Should it hurl anathemas against them, or prefer the fate of martyrdom? Or should it finally capitulate, and part with a piece here and another there, allowing the new to displace the old?

The church did not strictly adopt any one of these courses, so great was the temptation at that time to attempt first one and then another means of escape. It could not condemn them with a good conscience, because it was compelled to acknowledge that, in spite of all the non-ecclesiastical and unchristian tendencies which were mixed together in each of these departments, there was something in the affair besides human authority and caprice, because it could not ward off the conviction that a Higher Hand was operating in the movement. If the church would only listen, she could not fail to hear the flapping of the wings of that genius which was approaching with great power; and while she would not greet it as an angel extending the olive-branch of peace, she dared not call it a demon of hell, bringing destruction to man. To conclude that it combined the double character of angel and demon, was still less advisable. She did attempt this method in some cases, but it was always through fire, and with considerable loss. Should she permit the philosophical cathedra to take the place of the pulpit, the stage to become a substitute for the altar, or herself to be converted into a school-room? Should a human system supplant God's Word, which had been

committed to her for promulgation; or should she compromise with secular poetry, and thus flatter the people with a view to restore the neglected public services; or, finally, should she dispense with the school and the instruction of children, because the end of Christian training seemed to be approaching? She could not do this, for she still desired to occupy her appointed position as the stewardess of the divine mysteries. But what could she do? "To everything there is a season," says the Preacher. . . . "A time to break down, and a time to build up." The time for building up had not yet come; it would be well if, instead of a final fall, enough of the old material could be preserved for the time of rebuilding. It was necessary to examine well the new materials, and retain only the good among the old.

This was the task before the Protestant church. Her aim, amid the whirl of opinions and efforts, had to be the search for what was good and enduring, and to lead it back again to the Christian basis from which it had been alienated. Were philosophy, literature, art and education new to her? Must she not remember that she had scattered the seeds whence these plants had grown? In the Middle Ages, philosophy had applied itself to theology and art, to Christian worship, while the school-system of the Germans was a development of the instruction which the church imparted. And even at the time of the Reformation, the new activity of mind and intellectual life had sprung largely from her. The new plants now grew upon a soil beyond her sphere, but she dared not refuse to tread upon that soil, and to wrest from its invaders the part which she had once possessed, and plant upon it such scions as best suited her convictions. Availing herself of the new elements of culture, she must labor there, by means of a Christian philosophy, a better one than the old scholastic system had been, to overcome gradually the partisan criticism; in a new sense to supplant the doomed paganism by means of a Christian art; and, by employing a Christian mode of training, though not the old pedantic French system, but the elevated Pestalozzian method, to displace the one-sided philanthropism. In a word, the heart of the church did not

dare to allow itself to be suffocated by the philosophic, artistic, and pedagogic forces; on the contrary, it was all the more necessary for it to enlarge itself, so as to inhale a new atmosphere, and, in turn, to breathe forth new life upon those around. Yet in order to do this, there had to be vital power and vigor enough in her to appropriate the new elements and reject the extraneous,—in fact, to be permeated by the crisis before her.

But the vital power of the church, without which she cannot exist, is the force of faith, yet not that faith which depends on certain forms and signs, on letters and prescribed notions and conceptions, and therefore must stand or fall with them; but a faith which is conscious of an inner life working outwardly, which can say, amid surrounding desolations, and the doubts, vacillations and discouragements of the world: "I am sure that my cause will triumph." When the church possesses this faith in any form or at any time, though it be no greater than a mustard-seed, there need be no despondency in the midst of the most violent storms. Christ is in the vessel, though apparently asleep. The shrivelled grain will strike root when men least expect it. This is confirmed by the most recent history of the church. When we inquire after this faith it would appear that it had become extinct, if we rely for an answer upon certain individuals of the time. But such was by no means the case. I will not consider again those who were deemed by some the champions of skepticism, though they inclined to Christian faith, and cherished the principles of Christianity; neither will I again treat of the supernaturalist theologians, whose faith consisted more in the understanding and in the system than in the very heart of their spiritual nature.¹ I will confess, however, that altogether different forces were demanded, and that, in

¹ Palmer, in his *Homiletik* (p. 37), very appropriately refers to this formal Supernaturalism when he says, that it was so far opposed to Rationalism that it could choose for its motto that passage in *Wilhelm Tell*, when one on the Rütli says: "I know him well; he is my counterpart who disputes with me for my old heritage. Sir Reding, before the court we are foes, but here we are friends!"

opposition to the extreme tendencies then prevalent, it would have been no disadvantage if faith had taken a certain extreme course, and become felt in its reaction, just as Mysticism and Pietism once constituted a counterpoise to the scholastic philosophy.

Let us now ask, in view of the disorganizing and transforming tendency already described: How was it with that tendency which affiliated with the old faith? Did it have no more champions? Let us look first of all at the Pietists. There were not a few of them, but they were no longer a power in the church, as in the former half of the century, when Pietism prevailed among cultivated circles. The halcyon day of Pietism was passed; for even here the modern culture had dislodged many a quiet virtue at the same time that it overcame much error. Very little was now said about the Inspired, who flourished about the middle of the century in Büdingen and other places. A few still existed here and there, but they were not respected any longer.¹ On the other hand, the Moravian Brethren, with their several ramifications, stood securely as the witnesses of a sentiment still existing, which increasingly appeared to the world to be only scandal and folly. Also the German Christian Society and similar institutions worked on in their way. But what would these quiet believers in the land accomplish against the ever-rising voice of the multitude? If they would not be caught in the swift wheel of the new movement, they must stand at a distance, and confine themselves to their secluded circle. A certain spirit of shyness and anxiety overcame such people too easily; and while they complained and condemned, in their retirement, they were laughed at and derided more violently.

We will now speak of a reaction at hand in which there were defenders of decided, positive Christianity, who, as writers entered the domain of literature; who, as thoughtful, keen and clever thinkers, knew how to measure their strength with others, and to acquire weight in the judgment of those

¹ Concerning Nielsen Hauge in Norway, see Lecture XIX.

who held opposite opinions. But, in fact, their number was small compared with the mass of their adversaries. In previous lectures we have spoken of Stilling and Lavater, both of whom stood in intimate relations with Goethe, and had already become important in the literary heavens as satellites of that great planet.¹ It is sufficient here merely to recall them, an account of their far-spread united influence. We cannot unconditionally number Herder in this group of writers; because, while one side of his character harmonized with them, the other sympathized with the tendency toward illuminism; for he knew how to keep above antagonism, by virtue of the versatility and strength of his mind. But whom can we listen to with more propriety than John George Hamann, the "Magus of the North," as his friends used to call him.

Hamann belongs to those phenomena on which it is difficult to pronounce an opinion fully impartial and satisfactory. Just because he stands precipitous and solitary in his times, as a rock-island amid surging breakers, we cannot decide on him, as on many other men, by passing a general opinion on his times. Moreover, he placed himself in many respects in antagonism to his times; and therefore he necessarily appears to the enthusiastic admirers of those days as an odd fellow, if not almost or quite a fool; while, on the other hand, those who reproach that age revere him as a saint, a prophet, a preacher sent by God into the wilderness. Since we neither praise nor censure his times without qualification, we do not find in Hamann everything to laud nor everything to censure. He appears to us to be a remarkably original, vigorous and penetrating mind; and we will not be persuaded that the obscurities and distortions in his works are all the greater mysteries, behind which God conceals vast depths of knowledge, and that the tasteless shell must necessarily contain a kernel all the sweeter, simply because we cannot understand them. However, we will now draw a picture of the man, by the aid of his own confessions and writings.

¹ Vol. I. p. 483 ff.

John George Hamann¹ was born at Königsberg on the 27th of August, 1730. Under the care of pious parents he received a common-school education; he was also instructed by private tutors, and advanced especially in the study of the ancient classics. According to his own account, "some of the most prominent and difficult Latin and Greek authors were read over and over again." Yet Hamann does not extol the efforts of this philological training. "I could," says he, "translate a Latin author into German without understanding the language, or even the thought of the writer. My Latin and Greek compositions were mere printer's labor, and jugglery, by which the memory was glutted and the remaining intellectual faculties starved, because there was a deficiency of healthy and appropriate nutriment." We therefore perceive that, while he did not otherwise harmonize with the philanthropists, he yet sympathized with them in their opposition to the old school method, a proof that this opposition was severely felt in all quarters. When he was eighteen years of age he attended the University of his native city. It was intended that he should become a theologian; "but" said he, "I found an obstacle in my (unwieldy) tongue, poor memory, and many imaginary impediments in my thinking, the low morals of the clergy, and the importance which I attached to the duties of the ministerial office." He soon gave up jurisprudence also, and dedicated himself solely to the study of antiquity and belles-lettres. After the completion of his academic course he became tutor in Livonia, a position to which he was poorly adapted; and he was very roughly dismissed by the gracious mother. He then spent some time in Riga, as he says, "between disorderly industry and idleness." After making one more vain attempt as tutor, he here

¹ Compare Herbst, *Bibliothek christlicher Denker*, Vol. I. p. 18 ff.; Hamann's *Schriften* (published by Roth), Vol. I. p. 1 ff.; *Gedanken über meinen Lebenslauf*, Vol. I. p. 149, and the letters in several volumes; *Sibyll. Blätter* (pub. by Cramer), p. 1 ff. (Leipzig, 1819); Gelzer, *Vorl.*, p. 40; Gervinus, Vol. IV. p. 398; Vilmar, *Nationallitteratur*, Vol. II. p. 102 ff.; Carvacchi, *Biographische Erinnerungen an J. G. Hamann, den Magus des Nordens* (Münster, 1855); Lange, article *Hamann*, in Herzog's *Real-Encyklop.*

acquired some noble friends, among whom were the mercantile house of Berens, and Dr. Lindner, Rector in Riga. "Disgusted with the school-dust," he was induced to study commercial science and political economy, which, however, engaged his attention but a short time.

After his mother's death Hamann commenced to travel, and at Berlin made the acquaintance of Moses Mendelssohn. He then tried his fortune in London. Here he threw himself into the tumult of a dissolute life.¹ Burdened with inner misery, he wandered about for a long time without finding any one to whom he could open his heart. In his agony he sought refuge in prayer; he implored God to show him a friend; this friend he found in the Bible, through which he found Christ. "The further I went," says he, "the newer did the Word of God become to me, and the more divine its contents and effect. When reading it, I forgot all my other books. I was ashamed of having ever been indifferent toward God's book, or of having ever preferred any other book to it. I found the unity of the divine will in the redemption made by Christ, and that all history, all miracles, all the commands and works of God, cluster about this center, to raise the soul of man from slavery, bondage, blindness, folly, and the death of sin to the greatest enjoyment, highest holiness, and the appropriation of those blessings whose magnitude must alarm us more than our unworthiness, or capacity to make ourselves worthy of them when communicated to us."

One evening, when poring over the Scriptures, Hamann read the account of Cain's fratricide; he felt his heart beat while reading; he heard a voice sobbing and groaning down in its depths; he now felt that surely he was the murderer, for he had committed this fratricide against

¹ "I ate and drank to excess in vain; I revelled in vain, and ran about in vain. Intemperance and meditation, reading and knavery, industry and luxurious idleness, alternated to no purpose. In vain was I extravagant and wanton in all. In nine months I changed my lodgings almost every month; nowhere did I find rest, everybody seemed treacherous, low, and selfish." *Lebenslauf*, p. 204.

the only-begotten Son of God. He fell into the greatest agony, and confessed his sins to God with many tears; "but," says he, "the Spirit of God, notwithstanding my extreme weakness, my long opposition to his witness and strivings, continued to reveal to me the mystery of divine love and the blessedness of faith in our gracious and only Savior." He now read the Bible with redoubled industry and increased devotion, and with great blessing to his soul. He says: "God be praised, I now feel that my heart is more peaceful than ever before in my life. When threatened with sadness, I have overflowed with a comfort whose origin I could not ascribe to myself, and which no one has the power to infuse into his neighbor's heart. I am amazed at its excess. It so destroys all fear, gloom, and distrust that I can find no more trace of them, etc."

Hamann describes his own adventures down to his conversion, which forcibly reminds us of that of St. Augustine. All that remains to be said is briefly the following: He returned from London to Riga with a view to devote himself entirely to the house of Berens, but soon after having been summoned to Königsberg by his aged sick father, a misunderstanding occurred between that firm and himself which grew into a rupture,—a variance which almost necessarily subjected Hamann to the charge of ingratitude. A neglect of all human affairs is often the result of a powerfully excited religious sentiment; and how often has love to parents been compelled to yield to a pressure of devotion disregarding all hindrances! This appeared to be the case with Hamann. It is difficult to form an opinion here; and we may simply refer to that important saying which, in fact, has been repeatedly applied too rashly and in the wrong place: that Christ came not to bring peace, but a sword.

Hamann lived henceforth in the paternal house at Königsberg, where he published his first works. Kant, whose whole thinking was very different from Hamann's, placed a high estimate upon his lofty intellect, and numbered him among his friends. We have already described his still more intimate friendship with Herder. "In those happy years," says

Hamann, "I first learned to study, and I have long lived on the harvest then gathered." His outward circumstances were not favorable. He divided his time between the labor of copying in the chancery and aiding in the publication of the Königsberg Gazette. After seeking employment in vain in a foreign land, he obtained a situation in the excise-office, and, after ten more years, a position in the custom-house. Thus, according to his own expression, the invalid of Apollo was favored with the office of a publican.¹ In consequence of a change in the management of the establishment in 1782, the larger portion of his salary was withdrawn, and, though with four children, he lived in great want. Lavater extricated him from this exigency by procuring a respectable sum for him from Francis Buchholz, a wealthy young man in Westphalia, thus placing him in easy circumstances. Hamann spent some time in Münster, dividing his hours between the house of his benefactor, who became his adopted son, and the circles of the Princess Galitzin, who had been attracted to positive Christianity by his writings. When in Düsseldorf (Pempelfort) he spent the time with Frederick H. Jacobi. On the 20th of June, 1788, as he was about to take his departure for Königsberg, he was taken suddenly sick and died on the following day, at the age of fifty-eight.²

He had not been married in a civil or ecclesiastical sense, but lived, according to his own expression, in "a wedlock of conscience."

Hamann's life makes the general impression of a personality in which Christianity operated more as a foreign, volcanic power than as a regular and systematic force. Lofty thoughts and emotions sprang forth from his enthusiastic inner nature; resolutions and bright flashes of the moment thrust themselves out; but they never arrived at a peaceful development

¹ Letter to the Office of Domains. *Werke*, Vol. III. p. 208.

² His grave, originally in the garden of the Princess Galitzin, was neglected, in consequence of the disasters of the times, until 1851, when his bones were removed to the Cemetery of Überwasser, near the New Gate in Münster, and, by the munificence of Frederick William IV., have been honored with an appropriate monument.

and harmonious culture. Consequently, the career of the man, with all his piety of spirit, did not remain free from many objections. Here, too, he stood in decided contrast to Rationalism, which places the moral conduct of a man above everything else, and where it discovers this, it is satisfied with a defective inner life, while, in regard to Hamann, one feels disposed to overlook many moral defects because of the fullness of the latter. Both are imperfect phenomena of Christian life, which consists as much in moral piety as in pious morality.

Hamann's literary labors were confined rather to short, piquant essays, published at irregular intervals, than to any great work. For writing large books he had neither time nor strength, both of which had been very much squandered. His contemporaries did not esteem the Magician of the North very highly. Herder appreciated him more fully, because he had received from him his strongest intellectual impulse. "The kernel of Hamann's writings," says he, "contains many germs of great truths, together with new observations and a vast amount of learning. Their shell is a laboriously woven web of pithy expressions, hints, and flowers of rhetoric."¹ "His understanding," says Jacobi, "was penetrating like lightning, and his soul was possessed of more than natural majesty."² Hamann used to call his own composition a dumb mimicry, and compared himself to a miner seeking treasures in the bowels of the earth.³ He even confessed that much of what he had written was afterward unintelligible to himself. He characterized his style as the "screaming of venders of meat and hay." Goethe, who was not personally acquainted with him, says of him: "He was deemed an abstruse fanatic by those who controlled the literature of the day (Nicolai and his confederates), but yet ambitious youths were attracted to him. He enlisted the attention of those 'still people' in the country, as they were called, half in sport and half in seriousness, who, though they did not connect themselves

¹ *Werke zur Litteratur und Kunst*, Vol. I. pp. 103—106.

² To Kleuker, in Ratjen; J. F. Kleuker, p. 112.

³ *Süßyllinische Blätter*, p. 136.

with any one society, constituted an invisible church."¹ But Goethe also intimates that many strict believers were repelled by the satirical humor of his style.

Hamann has a greatness in the history of religious development peculiar to himself, and difficult to be measured by any present standard. In order to obtain a closer view of him, we will let him speak for himself; and since his style was very aphoristic, we will close our lecture by communicating some of his seed-thoughts, without regard to order. The majority of them, especially those related to religion, are diametrically opposed to the skeptical and superficial tendencies of the times. In reference to the frequently discussed relation of reason and revelation, he says: "Let us not measure the truth of things by the ease with which we conceive them. There are actions of an order too high for comparison by the elements of this world. Even Deity, who converts the wonders of nature and the original works of art into signs, distinguishes the morals and the deeds of the elect saints. Not only the end, but the entire career of a Christian is the masterpiece of the unknown Genius, who is recognized by heaven and earth as the only Creator, Mediator, and Preserver, and will be perceived in a glorified human form. It is said, that our 'life is hid with Christ in God.' But when Christ who is our life 'shall appear, we shall be like him' in glory. . . . Yes, yes; he will come, that he may be glorified wondrously with his saints and all believers. How infinitely shall the joy of those who love his appearing surpass the lofty ecstasy of the wise men from the East who saw the star."²

Hamann does not speak so favorably of his century as some others do. "The last century," says he, "was the kingdom of genius; the next will probably (?) flourish under the scepter of sound reason. What a sorry figure the knights of the present period make between them! Very much like an ape or a parrot between a buffalo and a lion. . . . An

¹ *Aus meinem Leben*, Book 12.

² *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 123. (The quotations here introduced are gathered promiscuously from his different works.)

age in which words are threshed, and all kinds of attempts are made to conceive thoughts and grasp feelings, is called *philosophical*. Is this said to disgrace our period or philosophy, or to make fools of ourselves and our neighbors?"¹ "Reason," Hamann continues, "reveals to us no more than Job saw, the misfortune of our birth, the excellence of the grave, and the uselessness and insufficiency of human life, for we have no clear perceptions, and feel within us passions and impulses whose purpose is unknown to us."² "What is religion but pure, sound reason, which has been stifled and made wild by the fall, and which the Spirit of God, having eradicated the weeds, and prepared and purified the soil for the reception of the heavenly seed, seeks to restore in us?"³ We are not yet fully made. Our reason must wait and hope, and prefer to be a servant rather than a lawgiver. . . . Experience and revelation are the same; they are the necessary wings or crutches of our reason, if we would not let it always remain a cripple."⁴ "The revealed religion of Christianity is properly called faith, trust, confidence, hopeful and child-like reliance upon the divine words and promises, and upon the glorious progress of a life developing from glory to glory, to the full disclosure and apocalypse of the mystery concealed and yet believed from the beginning, and to the fullness of beholding face to face."⁵

"God has revealed himself to man in nature and in his Word. . . . Both revelations explain and support, but cannot contradict each other, though our reason would sometimes give them the latter interpretation. It is indeed the greatest contradiction and abuse of reason when it attempts to reveal. A philosopher who discards the divine word in order to please reason, is in the condition of the Jews whose indignant rejection of the New Testament was proportionate to their violent adherence to the Old. In them, the prophecy

¹ *Sibyllinische Blätter*, pp. 130, 132.

² *Biblische Betrachtungen eines Christen. Werke*, Vol. I. p. 96.

³ *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 213.

⁴ To Jacobi. Jacobi's *Werke*, Vol. I. p. 387.

⁵ *Sibyll. Blätter*, p. 289. Comp. *Golgatha und Scheblimini*, p. 45.

is fulfilled that that very thing is, in their opinion, a stumbling-block and foolishness which should establish and fulfill their other notions. Natural science and history are the two pillars on which true religion rests. Infidelity and superstition are based upon shallow physics and history. Nature is just as little subjected to blind chance or eternal laws as that all events can be explained by characters and political reasons."¹

"All the treasures of nature are an allegory, or mythological painting of heavenly systems, just as all events of temporal history are outlines of private deeds and discovered wonders."²

"Had God intended to reveal himself to men and to the whole human race, then must their folly become more apparent who would make a contracted taste and their own judgment the touch-stone of the divine word. The question is not concerning such a revelation as would meet the approval of a Voltaire, a Bolingbroke, or a Shaftesbury, and best satisfy their prejudices, their wit, and their moral, political and epic whims, but concerning a discovery of those truths whose certainty, credibility and importance would be adapted to the whole human family. Those people who think themselves so wise as to feel that they can dispense with divine instruction, would find errors in any other revelation, and feel that they had need of none. They are the whole who need no physician."³

We might add many other passages in which he opposes the pride of his times. We may introduce a few connected with the *import* of Christianity, in which the author, without using the polemical dagger, poured his whole soul into his subject. "The Christian alone," says he, "is a living being because he lives *in* God, and *with* God, and moves and exists for God."⁴ "Through God alone our hearts love our brethren, and are rich toward them. If we do not know Jesus we get no further than the heathen. All miracles, mysteries, and works of faith and true religion unite in that worthy name by which we are called Christians, and which is the only key

¹ *Biblische Betrachtungen. Werke*, Vol. I. p. 54.

² *Brocken. Werke*, Vol. I. p. 139.

³ *Biblische Betrachtungen. Werke*, Vol. I. p. 57 ff.

⁴ *Briefe*, Vol. I. p. 228. Compare p. 288.

of knowledge that unlocks heaven and hell, and the heights and depths of the human heart." "Unbelief in Christ freezes our hearts and confuses all the ideas of our reason, while we imagine that we have a very good heart in our breast, and a rational mode of thinking in reference to our conduct."¹ "Righteousness in Christ is not a bodice, but a coat of mail, to which the combatant becomes accustomed just as a Mæcenas to his loose robe."² "Criticism is a school-mistress to lead us to Christ. As soon as faith springs up within us, the maid is driven out and the law ceases; then the spiritual man passes judgment, and his taste is far safer than all pedagogic rules of philology and logic."³ It was in accordance with this principle, which should surely be restricted, that Hamann was frequently led to allegorize, in which he, as he himself confesses, "driving along with full sail, lost sight of the letter."⁴ What he calls the "spiritual man," was frequently nothing but the suggestion of his wit and excited fancy.

To retrace our steps, we will close with some of Hamann's remarks on education. After Luther's manner, he went back to the simple principles of Christianity.

"An upright school-master," says he, "must go to school to God and to himself, if he would discharge the functions of his office. He must imitate God as he reveals himself in nature and in the Scriptures, and, by means of both, to an equal degree in our souls. . . . The law of God's husbandry of time, according to which he waits for the fruit patiently, should be our rule of life. The important question is, not *what* nor *how much* we men and children know, but *how*? The means of instructing children, therefore, cannot be too simple. However simple they may be, there will always be much that is superfluous, valueless, and perishing. But they must abound in practical working, and variety and fruitfulness for application and practice."⁵ "Education should lie near the heart of every father and citizen in the country, because the seeds of injury and ruin in social and domestic

¹ *Werke*, Vol. I. p. 490.

² *Idem*, p. 496.

³ *Idem*, Vol. III. p. 15.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 27.

⁵ *Gedanken über meinen Lebenslauf. Werke*, Vol. I. p. 158.

life are usually sown and developed in schools. Not only the luxuriant worship of mammon and the slavish service of arms, together with artistic industry and nobility, but also the chimeras of beautiful nature, good taste and sound reason, have introduced prejudices which partially exhaust and partially suffocate at birth the vital spirits of the human race and the prosperity of civil society."¹ "Instruction in schools seems to be designed to degrade learning and render it useless. . . . But the greatest law of method for children consists in letting ourselves down to their weakness; in becoming their servant, if we would be their master; in following them, if we would govern them; in knowing their language and soul, if we would move them to follow in our path. But it is neither possible to understand nor to fulfill this practical principle unless, as we say in common life, we dote on children and scarcely know the reason why."² "Whoever would write for children must not hesitate to make use of the wonderful Mosaic history."³ He writes to F. H. Jacobi: "When I say, 'become like children in order to be happy,' I hardly mean, 'have reason and clear conceptions.' The law and the prophets proceed violently from the whole heart, the whole soul, the entire strength, to—love."⁴ "Once an angel came down and troubled the Pool of Bethesda, in whose five porches there lay many sick, blind, lame and withered persons, who waited for the moving of the waters. So must a genius consent to shake rules, otherwise they will remain—water. And we must be the first to enter after the troubling of the water, if we would experience the effect and power of the rules."⁵

¹ *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 318. ² *Idem*, p. 320, 326.

³ *Idem*, p. 339.

⁴ Jacobi's *Werke*, Vol. I p. 370 f.

⁵ *Sibyllinische Blätter*, p. 325.

LECTURE X.

CLAUDIUS, THE WANDSBECK MESSENGER.—JOHN FREDERICK KLEUKER.—FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF PHILOSOPHY AFTER KANT.—JOHN GOTTLIEB FICHTE, DOWN TO HIS ENTRANCE UPON HIS PROFESSORSHIP IN JENA.

Hamann acquired the support of strictly orthodox Christians less by an amiable personality, which gratified immediately on its appearance, than by the intellectual brilliancy that shone forth from the mysterious darkness of his inward nature, and supported the hope that all the positive value of the Reformation was not yet lost. But in Claudius, on the contrary, the famous Wandsbeck Messenger, we are confronted by an individual who knew how to open the hearts of men by his kindly humor as by a magnetic key, and who, by his "humble and cunning heartiness,"¹ could win, I might say *bribe*, those who were of opposite religious sentiments.

We must repeat, that the great issues of Protestant Christianity were never fought out in the first line by theologians, but that quite different people took part in the conflict on both sides, and that they really helped to decide the result. So there was also here a "man of letters," as Claudius termed himself in his self-irony, who appeared as the apologist for Christianity, in defiance of those other wits and philosophers who opposed it either wholly or in part. Through him a decided prepossession for Christianity was awakened in many minds; and as it had previously been to many an encouraging sign that the genial fabulist and comedian Gellert

¹ Hase, *Kirchengeschichte*, § 455.

also composed beautiful hymns, so might many a happy man of the world now give a more willing ear to the poet of the Rhine-Wine Song than to the most zealous pastor, who, he imagined, after all defended Christianity only for the sake of his office and his precious bread. A poet who dared to relate a Biblical narrative, as the history of the giant Goliath, in the grotesque, comical style of the minstrel, might receive a hearty welcome from the wits, who also loved to try their humor upon such matters; but they soon discovered that the man who had such jest at command would never indulge in it where sanctity required deep seriousness. And thus there was not seen here, as is often the case, the wolf beneath the sheep's clothing, but the pure and chaste nature of the lamb and the simplicity of the dove behind the mask of apparent levity.

Claudius understood, as Luther before him, the great art of treating divine things in harmless pleasantry, because, we might say, he stood on terms of confidence with God. He was naïve in the noblest sense of the word, and in this naïveté he could and did say much that caused offence, and which is always disgusting when imitated. Thus he did not present a gloomy face to the scoffers at Christianity, nor a pedantic orthodoxy to pedantic illuminists, but rather confronted the morbid wit of philosophers by his own healthy and pungent mother-wit, the stiff learning of the lecture-room by a simple natural perception, and the wanton satire of ungodliness by the cheerful irony of child-like innocence. "The Wandsbeck Messenger," says F. H. Jacobi of him, "is a true messenger of God; his Christianity is as old as the world. Faith is to him not merely the highest and deepest philosophy, but something quite beyond it. Moreover, he appears in his life just as he does in his writings; he is sublime only in secret, but full of humor and roguery in public intercourse; yet he never omits to utter earnest, striking and pungent words whenever his mind and heart tell him that it is the right time and place."¹

And so we also would not scorn to commune with this

¹ *Werke*, Vol. I. p. 339.

simple, plain messenger of God and peace, who pointed out the truly divine and human paths to his times. While Hamann said that he regarded him a fool who would deny the existence of God, but him a greater one who would try to prove it, Claudius everywhere spoke against this thirst for demonstration, this parade of arguments and counter-arguments in religion. "No man can truly say of me that I am a philosopher; but I never go through the forest without this thought: 'Who made the trees to grow so well?' Then I have a *divining*, which comes softly from a distance, of an Unknown One, and I would wager that I am then thinking of God, so reverently and joyously do I tremble as I am thinking."¹ But he did not confine himself to this natural religion. The more definite Christian consciousness of the blessing of redemption takes its place immediately beside this sense of God's nearness. Indeed, both are one to him. In the forest and under the starry heavens he walks in a Christian temple, in which the form of the Son of man meets him, and extends to him his hand. "Last night I was on the road," he writes one Good-Friday morning. "The moon shone somewhat coldly upon my body, but otherwise so clearly and beautifully that I had a real joy as I beheld her, and could not look at her enough. 'Eighteen hundred years ago from this night, thou certainly did'st not shine so,' I thought with myself, 'for it was not possible that men should inflict suffering upon a righteous and innocent Man in the presence of so friendly and genial a moon.'"

But he does not regard the righteous and innocent Man as done away with. He also honors and loves Socrates, and will not take from him his merited wreath; but though the truth has always been the same, and at the time of Socrates three and one made four just as they do now, so it seems to him an excessive whim of toleration to wish to convert the old philosophers indiscriminately into Christians. Of course, all the truly wise men and servants of God since the creation of the world are connected with Christ, just as the stream and

¹ *Chria, darin ich von meinem akademischen Leben und Wandel Nachricht gebe* (in one Vol.).

the river are connected with the sea.¹ But even John the Baptist, who stood next to him, only went before him. And therefore Claudius, like Luther, was seized by peculiar feelings on reading John's Gospel, which had to him a higher value than the parables and mysteries in the remaining Gospels; and hence he bowed his knee as often as he read of Christ in any of them, confessing that, though other people may do without Christ, he cannot; that he needs some one to elevate and sustain him in life, and to place his hand under his head when he dies. What Christ experienced, had never been in the heart of any man. With Claudius, Christ is a holy and supernatural form, a star in the night, to satisfy our inmost necessities and our most secret desires and longings. "Men can consent to be stigmatized and broken on the wheel for the mere idea, and he must be crazy who can entertain the thought of scoffing and laughing. He who has his heart in the right place, lies in the dust, and praises and adores."

Claudius preserved this Christian faith as a feeling and inward experience of the heart, and avoided controversy on it. "I cannot understand," he says, "why there is so much demonstration in dealing with freethinkers and doubters, and why there is so much ado about freethinking and skepticism. Christ says briefly: 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or whether I speak of myself.' If he who can not or will not make this effort, would be a reasonable and candid man, or wish to be called such, he should really say nothing either for or against Christianity." Claudius, with all his decided Christian conviction, was therefore an opponent of all bigotry and angry contention, and knew how to make them ridiculous under every form. "The spirit of religion does not lie in the husk of dogmatics, does not have its nature in the children of unbelief, nor in the spoiled sons and whited sepulchers of Pharisaical faith, and can be just as little enforced by extravagant leaps of reason as by stiff orthodoxy and monasticism. . . . It is an honor to a man and a people to be

¹ *Apologie des Sokrates*, and in the *Briefe an Andres*.

strict and zealous for their religion, but it is the part of candor to examine before we are zealous."

"To improve religion by the reason," Claudius makes Asmus write to his cousin Andrew, "appears to me just as if I would regulate the sun by my old wooden clock; but on the other hand, philosophy seems to me a good thing, and much of the blame heaped upon the orthodox is well-grounded."¹ He compares it to a broom, with which to sweep the filth from the temple. Therefore he makes his cousin answer: "Philosophy is undoubtedly good, and people do wrong to scoff at it; but revelation is not related to philosophy as much to little, but as heaven to earth, as the upper to the lower world. . . . Philosophy, in a certain way, can be a broom for sweeping the cobwebs out of the temple; it might even be a brush for dusting off the sacred statues; but he who thinks that he can carve and polish the statues with it, requires more of the brush than it can do, and his expectation must be looked at as extremely ridiculous and offensive. . . . Reason will certainly not admit that Christianity should debase all that is high, and that, unlike virtue, it should lessen and bring into the old rut all rare proportion and beauty, but, like corruption, should even remove altogether, that something new may result. It should not do this even if it were capable of it. . . . Therefore, since the sacred statues cannot be restored by reason, it is patriotic in the highest sense of the word to maintain intact the old form. In short, cousin, the truth is a giant lying asleep by the roadside; the passers-by see his gigantic form but cannot see *him*, and they do well to be on their guard. When he takes away the veil, you will see his face. But until then, it must be our comfort that he lies beneath the veil; so pass by reverently and with trembling, dear cousin, and do not indulge in sophistry."

The conservative tendency controlled Claudius with increasing power in his later years, and, like his friend Hamann, he strove earnestly to maintain Lutheranism, and consequently the Lutheran doctrine of the Lord's Supper, in opposition to

¹ *Correspondenz zwischen mir und meinem Vetter* (Vol. II.).

the Reformed. But even here his mildness and candor toward those of different opinions did not forsake him, and he even granted that Luther, in his zeal toward those who differed from him, went too far. Indeed, the best proof that Claudius appreciated true Christianity in all Christian confessions is furnished by his account of Fenelon, with which he premised the second volume of his translation of the works of that excellent man. He prophesied the less good result the longer it was expected from that purely skeptical and consuming tendency whose object was to dissolve the positive character of all confessions into a universally reasonable substance, acceptable to everybody, but therefore unsatisfactory to all. People would do better, he thought, to strive to make reason *believing*, instead of, as they supposed, to make faith *reasonable*; and such a course would bring them more blessing, and undoubtedly more honor.¹ But he was firm in this view: "There is one truth, and only one. It cannot be taken away by violence, and does not obtrude itself upon any one; but it is communicated in a greater or less degree as it is sought humbly or with self-denial,—'with fear and trembling,' says the Apostle. Those who would do violence to truth, and arbitrarily create it, torment themselves in vain, and are like a reed shaken by the wind. Human works, like all things in this world, shake, and change their form and color. Truth remains, and does not shake; and he who simply and patiently unites with it, breathes the morning air, and clings to what he has until he experiences more."²

Thus wrote Claudius in June, 1812. He died in the year 1815 in Hamburg, in the house of his son-in-law, Perthes, at seventy-five years of age.

Of the theologians who attached themselves to such men as Hamann and Claudius, John Frederick Kleuker, of whose life and writings we have been reminded again of late, is the only one of this period, excepting Herder, of whom I have

¹ Conversation between Andrew and Bertram. *Werke*, Vol. VIII. p. 186.

² Preface to Vol. VIII. p. vii.

any knowledge.¹ He was born in 1749, at Osterode, in the Hartz Mountains, and educated in the University of Göttingen. He made the acquaintance of Herder while a private instructor in Bückeburg, and even in his old age he rejoiced, in delightful and thankful remembrance, at the impression made upon him by his sermons and whole character. Through Herder's influence, Kleuker went to Lemgo as rector; he subsequently assumed the rectorate at Osnabrück, and finally became a theological professor in Kiel, where he died in 1827. Kleuker was one of the few men who, in doctrine and writings, stood in avowed opposition to the prevailing theological spirit of his times, of which he said, that "it had so poisoned the whole atmosphere, that men hardly dared to speak of Christ as anything more than a passing shadow." Still, Kleuker was not quite satisfied even with Herder, who made too many concessions to the new style of doctrine and thinking.

And yet Kleuker, with all that decided faith of his in revelation, with which he opposed the skeptical coldness and shallowness of the understanding, was by no means a rigid believer in the mere letter. He was distinguished from the ordinary Supernaturalists of that day (particularly from Reinhard) by laying less stress upon the inspiration of the words of the Bible than upon its peculiar spirit, and by making the nature of revelation consist, not in the supernatural communication of isolated and abstract intellectual truths, but in the power of Christ's own life. Yet here he united with Herder, notwithstanding their difference in other respects, and cast his look forward upon the nature of the new theology. "The truth of the gospel history," says Kleuker, in a truly Protestant spirit, "is independent of the contents and value of all formal systems of doctrine. The teaching of Jesus and its written records would never have experienced such violent attacks if they had remained what they originally were; if there had not been constructed upon them that hierarchism and intolerance which men were induced to oppose, in more than one way, by contending against Christianity, which was

¹ See Ratjen, *Johann Friedrich Kleuker und Briefe seiner Freunde*. Göttingen, 1842.

only seen in this form. Orthodoxy does not depend upon the writer's being infallible by inspiration, nor upon all the words and lines, expressing the most absolute truth, nor on a definite number of gospels, nor on the traditional names of their writers, nor on the canonicity of all the parts found in the traditional collection of those writings, nor on the absence of real contradictions in small and incidental matters. The Bible is divine so far as it contains the doctrines, directions and disclosures of our eternal moral destination, which were given and authenticated by God. There was a time when people went too far in their reverence of the letter, thus hindering its good purpose (*sic!*) more than they advanced it, by failing to distinguish aright between the accidental, the merely historically useful, and that which is equally essential and important for men of all periods."¹

And we may ask: What is that which is equally essential and important for the men of all periods? It is not, as the Rationalists think, a mere precipitate from general moral statements, but the appearance of the Son of God as the Son of man, the revelation of God in Christ. "Jesus Christ has lived, and imparted to men a doctrine of salvation, yet not as his own, but as one committed to him for promulgation by God himself. Christ has proved the truth of his divine mission unequivocally and convincingly; he therefore deserves our entire confidence, and his doctrine should be believed and obeyed by us as that of the only Savior of men. This is what must be proved, but at the same time the only thing necessary to be proved." Kleuker did not altogether harmonize with the Mystics and many pious people with them, together with Claudius, in opposing the rationalizing theologians of different sorts by appealing first of all to inward experience. "The divine power," he held, "cannot be experienced until it is recognized, received and believed. . . . Experience is founded on faith and reception, reception is founded on worth, worth on truth, and truth on divinity of origin, which is revelation." But this divinity of origin was not construed by him in a petty manner, but grandly, not

¹ See Ratjen, p. 88.

by the single letter but by the whole impression. He relied on the witness of the Spirit and of power, and thus he is not so far removed from those who returned to inward experience; but he gave them a subject, a safe and positive hold in history, and in this way he constitutes an accommodation between the Biblical Supernaturalists in the ordinary sense, and theosophists and Mystics; between the mere externality and the pure inwardness of the believing standpoint.¹

In judging a theologian who is said to influence his age, we must not look alone at the doctrines laid down by him in his books, but at the testimony of his life and death. "I had the fortune to be present when Kleuker died," says his latest biographer, "for I must call it a good fortune to see a true Christian die as calmly as he did. As I came in, the approach of death was clearly indicated by his cold hands, almost motionless pulse, and difficult breathing. A kind of prophetic spirit appeared to come over him, when he once more warned against the errors of his contemporaries by proclaiming the great truths that he had so often taught. After saying: 'It is plainly recorded in all passages of the Old and New Testament that there is only one true Savior, and by them all the error of our day, which looks to self-redemption for salvation, is refuted,' he sweetly fell back into the corner of the sofa, bowed his head, and without experiencing the least convulsive struggle with death, fell asleep, and passed away into the better world."

To the circle of the men already mentioned,—Hamann, Lavater, Claudius, Kleuker, and even Herder, so far as a part of his character and labors were concerned,—there belongs one of the philosophers, Frederick Jacobi, though he was connected with his believing friends only in one respect, while in another he opposed positive religion. Kleuker, too, stood with him in an interesting and lately published correspondence. However, before we dwell more particularly upon that remarkable man, we must again consider German

¹ To the learned theologian who would become acquainted with the relation of Kleuker's system to the science of the present day, we may recommend Dorner's treatise, published with Ratjen's work.

philosophy in general, and its further development, showing how the Kantian system, which had moved and controlled the mind for a length of time, was pushed to its extreme by that of Fichte, thence degenerating into its opposite by passing through the so-called idealism of Fichte into the natural philosophy of absolutism. We will therefore speak first of Fichte, beginning with him as a man. We have here the advantage which is not always so great in speculative philosophers as in the present instance, of having to deal with a well-defined individual, who, apart from all system, is clothed with a great interest, and with a life which is abundant in events and movements, and very much distinguished in this respect from the uniform life of Kant. In sketching it, we shall rely on the Biography by his son and the Correspondence connected with it.¹

John Gottlieb Fichte, the son of a linen-weaver, was born in the village of Rammenau, in the Upper Lausitz, on the 19th of May, 1762. He received his earliest instruction from his father, who, when his loom was at rest, and his labor in the garden finished, took the boy in hand, taught him to read, brought before him hymns and pious sayings, and related to him much about his wanderings in Saxony and Franconia. By this means he awakened in the boy's soul the first longings for greater things. When the son became larger he read the daily morning and evening prayers in the family circle, and even at that time the father may have nourished the silent hope of some day hearing his son preach in the village pulpit. Meanwhile, the pastor took a friendly interest in the aspiring lad; he was especially delighted with the good memory he found him to possess, for the boy was able to repeat without interruption the whole sermon that he had heard. This talent led him to the further favor of a nobleman, in whose presence young Fichte once repeated such a sermon, and he afterward promised to take his education in hand. He placed him in the charge of a rural preacher near Meissen. Here Fichte laid the foundation for

¹ J. G. Fichte's *Leben und litterarischer Briefwechsel*, published by his son, J. H. Fichte. 2 Vols. Sulzbach, 1830 and 1831.

his knowledge of the ancient languages. When twelve years of age he entered the city school at Meissen, and somewhat later the Schulpforte, near Naumburg, in which, as is well known, Klopstock and other celebrated Germans before and after him received their education. The oppressive sense of cloistered seclusion, which had stirred many a young life in that school to opposition, grew very powerful over him, and awakened in him the thought of secret flight. He really escaped, with the resolution to be a second Robinson Crusoe. In the midst of a prayer which he offered to God for his deliverance, on an open hill not far from the Schulpforte, he repented earnestly of his hazardous step, and an inward voice commanded him to return immediately. This sincere repentance not only gained from the school authorities forgiveness for his error, but also milder treatment, which rendered his stay at the institution much easier than before.

We have seen from the youth of Hamann and others how, with the defective instruction at that time imparted in most of the German schools, all study was confined to the ancient languages. This was particularly the case in the celebrated Schulpforte. Neither the sciences nor belles-lettres were studied. The German poets were only read in secret, the substantial Haller alone being allowed. Thus secretly Fichte became acquainted, among other things, with Lessing's controversial writings against Goetze; and probably here first sank into his soul that polemical sting which he directed subsequently, in Lessing's spirit, against his enemies. Fichte matriculated as a theological student in the University of Jena, at Michaelmas, 1780; but he soon became more immersed in philosophical studies, although he occasionally preached with success. Eloquence was innate to him. Being deprived of aid from others, he was compelled to look to himself for his further support, when his good star led him to Switzerland, where the position of private tutor was offered him by the landlord of the Sword Hotel in Zürich, who wished to give his children more than an ordinary education, and had written for a German candidate for that purpose. Fichte here became acquainted with Lavater, and also preached

sometimes, both in the city and environs; and here, too, commenced his acquaintance with the daughter of the weigh-master Rahn, who afterward became his wife. She was a niece of Klopstock.

Meanwhile Fichte found himself compelled to leave Zürich for a time, to seek further means of subsistence. Provided with introductory letters from Lavater and others, he again went to Germany. While in this insecure temporal state (his condition even drove him to Poland), he studied with increasing care the Kantian philosophy, to which he was an enthusiastic adherent. He did not rest until he had made Kant's personal acquaintance. He went to Königsberg, visited the philosopher in his own house, and attended his lectures; but neither in Kant's lecture-room nor in his house did he feel satisfied. His reception at Kant's house was cold, while the latter's delivery in the lecture-room was sleepy. Still, Fichte remained an ardent disciple of the critical philosopher, and soon appeared as an author in the Kantian spirit. A new work, *An Attempt at a Criticism of all Revelation*, in which the Kantian principles in relation to the possibility of an external revelation were prosecuted in a masterly manner, created great attention. Everybody regarded it as a writing of the Königsberg philosopher himself. In the public reviews, Kant was even mentioned and lauded as its author. Even its smallest portions were recognized as bearing traces of Kant's style, until Kant himself publicly declared that he was not its author, but a certain theological candidate, Fichte, a private tutor in the family of Count Crocow, in West Prussia. This first made Fichte's name celebrated in Germany; but with his celebrity there also arose a number of opponents and enviers, and from that time forth his aspiring talents were drawn into the whirlpool of literary conflict, from which even his matured mind was never extricated.

In the midst of these conflicts Fichte again went to Zürich, and consummated his matrimonial engagement in the Autumn of 1793. "You are the half of my soul," he wrote to his betrothed before setting out on his journey, "and we will complete the indissoluble bond of virtue as soon as we meet;

each will be the other's support through life, and we will remind and admonish one another if either become forgetful; . . . for I have firmly resolved to be an upright man in the full sense of the word, and to this end I shall often need your support." The marriage occurred in Baden, Aargau, and Lavater, who was to unite them, but who committed his task to J. G. Schulthess, delighted the bridal couple with some congratulatory verses. About this time Fichte became acquainted with the author of *Lienhard and Gertrude*, who, living in seclusion at Richterswyl, was reflecting upon the first efforts of his system of popular education. Pestalozzi and Fichte pleased each other, and continued friends through life. Even in later years, Fichte declared enthusiastically that the true remedy for diseased humanity lay in Pestalozzi's system of education.¹ Fichte now first lived at Zürich, in the house of his father-in-law, under the most delightful circumstances, and was employed outwardly by the great universal convulsions of the Revolution, and inwardly by the further study and elaboration of his philosophical system. At Lavater's solicitation he consented to deliver public lectures before the people of Zürich, and Lavater himself, though he little approved of his philosophical train of thought, was one of his first and most zealous auditors. Here we also have another gratifying proof of that intellectual freshness and high and pure liberality of Lavater which, at that time, brought men of the most different thinking very closely together, because the anticipations of the blessings striven for on both sides, and the joy in seeking them, were much stronger than the displeasure felt at the mere momentary points of difference. Subsequently, when Fichte was charged with atheism, Lavater wrote to him the following verse, in the very spirit of the Fichtian philosophy:

"Thinker beyond compare! Thy existence proves to me
That of the one Eternal Spirit,—Source of all spirits.
Couldst thou ever doubt? Before thyself I place thee now,
Prove to thyself, thou art the Eternal Spirit's beam."

¹ In the *Reden an die deutsche Nation*.

Fichte was removed from his friendly relationship at Zürich by his call to Jena as Professor of Philosophy. His wife still remained a while in Zürich. His public labors as a teacher in the higher sense commenced with his entrance upon his professorship. Jena was at that time the center of modern science; here lived and taught Schiller, whose acquaintance Fichte had previously made and with whom he shared an admiration of the celebrated Kant. From this point Fichte entered into friendly relations with the Weimar celebrities, Wieland, Goethe and Herder, and formed acquaintance with Jacobi, Humboldt, the brothers Schlegel, and others. Young men streamed to Jena from all quarters. Swiss, Danes, Courlanders, Livonians, Poles, Hungarians, Siebenburgers, and some Frenchmen, sat at the feet of the German teacher, in order, with the "doctrine of science," as Fichte called his philosophy, to receive, as it were, the inmost spirit and essence of science. Fichte fully felt the grandeur and importance of his position as an academical teacher. Indeed, he was, perhaps, the first once since the days of the Reformation to conceive anew the true mission of such an instructor. He did not design his influence upon the students to be simply scientific, in the ordinary sense of the word, nor merely learned, just a literal work that can be dispatched at will by the pen. He was not a dictating machine, and he knew the power of the living word and of personal intercourse. He wished to morally ennoble and intellectually incite the young men at the university; to teach them to conceive of the calling and destination of the learned man from the most beautiful and elevated point of view; to raise their minds above the common and trivial, and to lead them to the ideal. He was less desirous to conduct into the ancient past than, with a prophetic enthusiasm, to prepare a more beautiful and vigorous future.

In this effort Fichte had much in common with Schiller. The same morally stirring and purifying power that we have perceived in Schiller's poems is also found in Fichte's lectures on *The Vocation of the Learned Man*, and similar writings, as well as in his letters. Yet with this moral ideality there

was connected a bold disregard of the traditional and the existing, a certain defiance which was seized too easily by the young as the expression of a moral sense of strength, but considered by more sober men with a certain misgiving, indeed, as all the more an unmixed evil at every period. A contemporary and admirer of Fichte says: "The spirit of the Fichtian philosophy is proud and courageous; the realm of human knowledge is too contracted for it at every corner and end; it strikes out new paths at every step it takes, and fights with the language in order to wrest out words enough to express the fullness of its thoughts; it does not lead us gently, but seizes us and carries us off, and its finger never touches an object without grinding it to pieces. Fichte's fundamental trait is the most sterling integrity. Such a character usually takes little cognizance of delicacy and refinement. . . . His lecture, therefore, rages like a storm, which discharges its fire at single strokes. His imagination is not glowing, but energetic and powerful. His pictures are not attractive, but bold and grand. He dives into the inmost depths of his subject, and reigns over the whole kingdom of ideas with a candor which proves that he not only lives in this invisible land but is its ruler."¹

Of the effect produced on young men by Fichte's lectures, the same observer says: "They believe in Fichte as they never did in Reinhold, his predecessor."² He was understood far less, but believed all the more obstinately. The Ego and

¹ Forberg, *Fragmente aus meinen Papieren*. Jena, 1796. In Fichte's *Leben*, Vol. I. p. 295 f.

² In the history of recent philosophy, Reinhold constitutes the transition from Kant to Fichte. Compare on him, his son's (Ernest Reinhold) *Geschichte der Phil.* Vol. II. Div. 2. p. 140.—It is remarkable, for our historical purpose, that Reinhold arose from the Catholic church, but found his way through philosophy to Protestantism, for the development of recent philosophy down to Schelling generally belongs to Protestantism, and from there planted a Catholic speculation beside the Protestant. Reinhold was, moreover, such an enthusiastic admirer of Kant that he maintained that, "after a hundred years, Kant's reputation will be equal to that of Jesus Christ!" Comp. Schiller and Körner's *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I. p. 162.

the non-Ego, the watchwords of the Fichtian philosophy, are now the symbol of philosophers of yesterday, as matter and form were at the time of Kant and Reinhold. . . . Fichte designs to operate upon the world through his philosophy. The propensity to restless activity, which dwells in every noble young man's breast, is carefully nourished and fostered by him, that it may bring forth fruit in its season. At every opportunity he enforces his point, that action, *action* is man's vocation; by which there is ground for fearing that the majority of the young men who take this to heart may look upon an appeal to action as nothing better than an appeal to destruction. Besides, the proposition is false. Man's great call is not to act; for if he cannot act without being unjust, he should remain idle."¹

Thus much for that observer. Now let us consider what Fichte says of himself. "The great end of my life," he wrote to his betrothed, "is to endow myself with every kind of formation of character (except the scientific, for I observe much in that which amounts to nothing) which my destiny in any wise allows me. I search for the course of Providence in my life, and find that this can be the plan which he has for me, and I have learned on the whole, that my character has grown more definite through all the events of my life. . . . I have too little talent to bend myself, to manage people who are opposed to me; I can only get along with honest people, am too open, and am not qualified for any court. . . . I have as little capacity as possible for being a skillful man of business; I will not merely think, but act; I can not dispute about trifles. . . . It is not fortune which I seek, for I know that I will never find it. I have only one passion, one necessity, one full sense of myself,—to work outside of myself. The more I act, the more fortunate do I seem to myself."²

Thus we find that, according to the testimony of Fichte himself and of others, he did not so much insist upon thinking as upon acting, and we would consequently expect from

¹ Forberg, *Fragmente aus meinen Papieren*. p. 295.

² *Biographie*, p. 73.

him a philosophy inciting immediately to action. But we would be very much deceived if we were to expect from him a so-called practical, that is, popular philosophy of life. Such practical systems of philosophy of life were not wanting at that day, but Fichte's was at the very farthest remove from them. What he denominates "action" is not action after the manner of Campe, an active industry, nor the quiet philanthropic labors for public utility. But it is one designed to affect the destinies of others, to give the world a new direction, a new impulse; a transforming, reformatory, and even revolutionary action; yet it is not blind and hap-hazard, a mere agitation, but rather an action from the inmost conviction, and from the consciousness of the highest personal freedom; and this consciousness itself was again connected in the most intimate way with Fichte's philosophy.

Fichte's system was not a fruit of idle thought, but forced itself on him in struggling after truth. But abstract and unpopular, therefore, as it may sound to those who are not accustomed to speculative technical language, it was with Fichte a fruit of the noblest and most vigorous moral effort; it was most inwardly inrooted with his heroic and, I may say, titanic character. This was what gave it such an entrance into the minds of the young, even where they only half understood it, or only divined it and were astonished at it. But this feature was also felt by his opponents. They knew very well how to ferret out that revolutionary element of Fichte's thinking, which was hurled as an electric spark into the minds of the young; and Fichte was correct in supposing that it was not so much his atheism that made people afraid as his democracy, which just at that time of political excitement appeared doubly dangerous. But as both theory and practice had grown most intimately in him, and as his extraordinary thoughts were directed to extraordinary deeds, it was natural that one should be looked at *in* and *with* the other. Before we see how and why heavy charges of atheism were brought against him we shall have to present a picture of his philosophy, in the next lecture, as far as the nature of our course will allow.

In conclusion, I will communicate something more from Fichte's letters to his wife, which prove to us the respect in which he was held by the students, the high esteem he placed upon himself, how boldly he prejudged his surroundings, and how firmly he believed that he stood with the government, in spite of his opponents, though the case soon turned out very differently. "Last Friday," he writes on the 26th of May, 1794, "I delivered my first lecture. The largest lecture-room in Jena was too small; the whole floor and court were full; people stood over each other on tables and benches.¹ . . . It is true that the students had a general prepossession for me, which I have certainly not destroyed by my personal presence. So far as I have heard, my lecture has been received with universal applause. When I have to deal with them personally, I am very friendly and pleasant, and place myself altogether on the same footing with them; and this gains their favor. . . . My prospects with my associates are very promising; I can now say that I have been received by all with open arms, and very many worthy men are desirous of my special acquaintance. . . . I adhere to a certain ingenuousness, am kind, open and friendly toward all people."²

Further on he writes: "My career has opened well. The good opinion of the students, and my own demeanor, secured the favorable judgment of the professors, ministers, etc. The Duke has had a long interview with me. Goethe shows himself continually as my warm friend, and I have ground for thinking that even the Duke himself would be delighted to do something for me." Still further he says: "If it should be written to Zürich at the present time that I have been held to account in Weimar because of my teaching, and that I have been forbidden to write one thing and another, don't believe it. . . . I am now the general by-word throughout Germany, and on every hand wonderful reports are circulated about me. But this is all right, for it proves that I am not altogether unworthy of notice. But the truth of my

¹ The same had been the case with Melanchthon in Wittenberg.

² *Biographie*, p. 282 ff.

relation to our government is, that there is unlimited confidence placed in my rectitude and sagacity, and that I have been expressly commissioned to teach just according to my own conviction; and the assurance has been made that I will be protected against all injury." In another letter, written on the 21st of July, he says: "You look most strangely at the German princes through your Zürich spectacles. You expect of our princes, because they have the power, to do what your aristocrats would do if they could. The difference is, that ours are not so perfectly foolish as yours. Yours are like that cow-boy who wished to be a king, so that he might smear his bread with syrup as thick as he wanted. Your aristocrats think in the same way, and others among you see through your own glasses. . . . No one shall do me any harm, for, I warrant you in few words, I do not lay myself open to charges, and I have heart and courage."

LECTURE XL

**FICHTE'S IDEALISM.—CHARGES OF ATHEISM.—FICHTE IN
BERLIN.—RETURN TO THE RELIGIOUS STANDPOINT.—
“ADVICE FOR THE BLESSED LIFE.”—FICHTE'S LAST DAYS
AND DEATH.**

In order to estimate Fichte's philosophy and its only passing influence upon the Protestant church and theology, so far as lies within the scope of these lectures, we must resume with Kant, to whom Fichte united with the greatest enthusiasm until he announced a system beyond that of his master, which, in its most essential definitions, entered into direct contradiction with the Kantian philosophy, and caused a breach between the philosophical schools that has not yet been closed. I must, however, premise just here, that of necessity it cannot be my purpose to give a scientific representation of Fichte's system any more than it has been of Kant's. This task must be left for the history of philosophy, from which we only select what is suitable for our purpose. But for this very reason, we must also desist from wishing to judge Fichte's philosophy itself, which we should only be justified in doing if we could view the connection of Fichte's system with his personal character and the inward organic connection of his principles. We speak only of the impression which his philosophy has left behind, and of the movements it has called forth, and therefore constitute for us only an idea of it necessary to understand, to a certain degree, that impression and those movements.

Kant set out by supposing that man's knowledge is limited
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by space and time, and that he cannot perceive anything of God and divine things with his pure reason. Yet Kant denotes, as amends therefor, God and immortality as the requirements of practical reason, but above all morality, as the Categorical Imperative requires it, as the essential thing preceding all religion. Fichte also took first this subjective standpoint of a humanly limited and bounded knowledge. According to him, too, we therefore do not perceive things as they really are in themselves, but only as they appear to us, according to our aspect of them.

But while Kant had accepted a real world before man, and only made the apprehension and observation of it dependent on the disposition of our human knowledge, Fichte went further by conceiving that the whole external world itself is a production of the human reason, the mere reflection of images of the mind, which arise and move in our inmost being either unconsciously or consciously. To him nothing had any reality except the Ego, or the consciousness, which he did not regard as something resting and inert, but as a continuous deed, a creative power. In opposition to the common understanding, which simply proceeds upon the supposition that there is a world and a good many things in it, which our senses perceive and of which we afterwards conceive a notion in the mind, he maintained that there are conceptions or images in us, at which we first arrive unconsciously, and afterward by further thinking. Man creates things first in his thought, conceives them, thinks of them before him, and so far they are present to him. Consciousness first forms itself in man, or, in Fichte's words, "the Ego posits itself." This is the original deed of knowledge. Then comes the second act of our consciousness, namely, that the Ego can also think of that which is different from it, which is not Ego. "The Ego posits a non-Ego." But of this non-Ego man only knows that it is the opposite of the Ego. It is nothing which has being in itself, nothing truly present, material, substantial, or extended in space. Rather, that which appears to us to be only matter is merely the momentary obstruction of our thinking, just as the momentary freezing of a stream. Likewise that which we

call spirit is not a substance, something intelligible beyond us; therefore Fichte also avoided the expressions of spirit and soul, because one might very easily understand by them something unspiritual, dead, material or ghost-like. He returned simply to the Ego, but which, as we have already said, must not be regarded as inert, merely present and receiving impressions from without, but as a productive power, a constantly active and creative Ego.

From the foregoing, it was quite natural that this idealism this philosophy of the Ego, should seek to remove from our notion of God everything that could remind us of matter and substance. Even the Scriptural expression, "God is a Spirit," was not refined and spiritual enough to our philosopher, because one might very easily conceive by a spirit something personally bounded and limited. "God is not a *being*," says Fichte, therefore, "but a pure *acting*, just as I am not a being, but a simple acting. God ceases to be infinite as soon as he is made the object of a notion, as soon as he is definitely conceived and apprehended. Every notion of God is an idol. If we mentally discard everything that thus limits God, and brings him down to our consciousness, we have remaining to us a totally incomprehensible being, pure consciousness, intelligence, and spiritual life (without any further definition)." Thus Fichte at last found no other expression by which to designate God than the Ego, in so far, indeed, as he is not conceived as a limited, personal, and individual Ego, but as an absolute Ego, elevated above all finiteness and limitation. He called it also "the moral order of the world."

We should certainly be unjust toward Fichte if we were to so distort his doctrine as to make it mean that he, John Gottlieb Fichte, wished to make himself God. On the contrary, he protests most solemnly the very opposite; and there is need of but little art, but all the more hateful feeling, to draw such conclusions simply from assertions which are not understood in their whole connection. We could easily say with greater propriety that Fichte, like Spinoza, denied rather the existence of the world than of God; that, in order

to conceive of God truly spiritually, he invited upon himself the appearance of the denial of God, just because he would not allow anything to unite with the Creator which has a creative character itself, and reduces him to finiteness. This spiritualizing effort may even have a deeper ground; it awakens from its sluggishness the thinking mind, which is always too ready to think of God in a human way, or which really thinks of nothing, and only thoughtlessly repeats words and formulas of which it can give no account.

And Fichte was not the first to try this spiritual flight. Many earlier thinkers, some of whom were Christian men, had to submit to the conduct of the multitude in dragging down to commonness, and either purposely perverting or intentionally distorting, what they had laid down as the expression of a mind struggling for proper ideas of God.¹ It was said of many an one: "He does not believe in God," only because he did not conceive of God so corporeally and palpably as the masses. Yet there is danger in the effort, though it may proceed from a noble purpose; for it may come to pass that, by this process of subtilization and spiritualization, everything may pass off in smoke at last, and our eyes be shaded more and more by darkness from simply gazing at the sun. We should, at all events, know that we, as men, must perceive God only in a human way, and that our expressions of him are figurative, and do not correspond to his nature; but just because we are men and finite beings, we should humbly make use of the language adapted to our necessities, and which God himself has not been ashamed of in revealing himself and condescending to us. The philosophers who would lead man beyond himself to a region in which all our inward thoughts pass away, and where we cannot find a footing, are responsible, without calculating the impression they make upon other minds, for speaking a language, which, because of this distance from every human language, is necessarily exposed to misconceptions; and they

¹ We need only call to mind Origen, John Scotus Erigena, and the later sects of the Middle Ages.

must accordingly put up with the reaction which their boldly dropped speech provokes.

Fichte was a teacher of young men attending the University. Among those who sat at his feet, were some who were called to promulgate the God of the gospel to Christian churches, a God who is only Creator when there are creatures from his hand, who has called a world into being, not a mere phantom world, but one that is real and actual, in which sin, misery, and the pressure of suffering are presented but too truly as realities, against which mere imagination is of no aid; for they really exist, and can be removed only by a higher reality, by a divine matter-of-fact, by the act of God's love as historically revealed to us in redemption by Christ. And if the ground were taken from under the feet of these young men, thus called to proclaim such a doctrine; if there were nothing left them of all religion except their poor Ego, of which they themselves were never energetically conscious, as Fichte was of his, was there any remedy against a justified scruple springing up in such of them as were not accustomed to limit the freedom of their inquiry betimes? There now arose the dilemma, which has subsequently been renewed frequently, and is undoubtedly founded in the twofold nature of Protestantism: whether, in the interest of science, of free inquiry and the free promulgation of results, we should take a perfectly free course, or, in the interest of ecclesiastical fellowship, to which the weak, the unstable and the babes belong, we should place a limit on our conduct? We call it a dilemma, though we ourselves would not unconditionally assert either one course of conduct or the other. What in one case may lay claim to approval, may in another be blamable. Before the acts close, it is very easy to perform too much of one part or another. Through our fondness for knowledge we may interfere with faith, and through our zeal for faith we may obstruct the course of inquiry; and if this dilemma is great in a thoroughly honest will, the case becomes doubly bad when passion plays a part on either side.

We might almost suppose that this was the case in the

suit instituted against Fichte, which cast him out in the very midst of his brilliant career. Fichte was charged with no less an error than atheism, and down to the present day the most learned men are not agreed as to whether or not we can apply this abused name to Fichte's system, as promulgated at that time in the so-called doctrine of science. In addition to this there comes into consideration what Fichte himself gives us to understand: that his democratic principles were just as much a thorn in the eyes of his opponents as his atheism. His extraordinary mode of teaching, in which he set aside all the traditional customs, offended many. He chose Sunday for delivering moral lectures to the students. In this the Consistory of Weimar, in which Herder then had a seat, thought that it could perceive the concealed purpose of wishing gradually to undermine public services, in spite of Fichte's earnest protest, and his appeal to Gellert's example, whose moral lectures had also been delivered on Sunday; and, as the theater of Weimar was open on Sunday, why not also the philosophical lecture-room? This controversy on his reading lectures on Sunday was, meanwhile, only the prelude to the greater battle. Fichte published a work on *The Grounds of Our Faith in a Divine Government of the World*, in which the moral order of the world itself was designated and asserted as God, and that we need no other God, and can conceive of no other. "But the existence of this God does not admit of a doubt; it is the most certain thing there is, and the ground of all other certainty. The idea of God as a special substance, on the contrary, is impossible and contradictory. It is lawful to say this plainly, in order to nullify the talk in the schools, so that the true religion of happy and upright action may assert itself."¹

Of course, many a pious soul could not do otherwise than take exception at these expressions. Though Fichte might be satisfied with the moral order of the world, the Christian's faith in God, which is also a faith "of joyous and upright action," but at the same time faith in an essential and real God, was not distinguishable in this philosophical theory:

¹ *Biographie*, Vol. II. p. 108.

But he would not have fallen in consequence of this theory, even if no prohibition had been promulgated against it. Yet the interdict came. The work in which Fichte had presented his theory of the divine order of the world was rigorously prohibited in Electoral Saxony, and from there the attention of the Weimar court was directed to the dangerous character of his teaching, "as one not only in open conflict with the Christian, but even with natural religion." "As experience," says the written requisition of the 18th of December, 1798, "sufficiently teaches the sad consequences to the general good, and especially to the security of states,¹ arising from the tolerance of those miserable attempts to propagate still further the already increasing disposition toward infidelity, and to eradicate the ideas of God and religion from the hearts of men,² it is not a matter of indifference to us, in regard to our own country, if teachers in neighboring lands publicly and audaciously profess such dangerous principles." The Weimar government was accordingly requested by its neighbor, Electoral Saxony, to "impose a solemn punishment upon the author of the work after being found guilty, and also to give express orders to prohibit such mischief at the University of Jena, and also at the gymnasia and schools." Connected with this was the threat, that, in case the request was not heeded, Electoral Saxony would prohibit her sons from attending the University of Jena. Similar appeals for the prohibition of the obnoxious writings were presented at other Protestant courts. Hanover acceded, while Prussia, though she had issued her strenuous Religious Edict ten years previously, declined touching the matter.

It was Prussia which first awakened in Fichte the first

¹ *Hinc illæ lachrymæ.*

² There is confusion enough here in speaking of ideas eradicated from the heart. We can only eradicate ideas from the head, but, for this reason, religion does not stick by ideas. Religion would first have to be eradicated from the heart, which no human philosophy can do. Of course, the heart may also go astray when the head becomes giddy and confused; but we cannot find relief by ideas; the renewal must come from the ground of the heart,—a deed performed by God's Spirit alone.

gleam of hope that, when driven from Saxony, he would find refuge there. And this really took place; yet, after issuing his Appeal to the Public, he forestalled his formal dismissal by requesting his release. Encouraged by Dohm, the Prussian Minister, he reached Berlin in the early part of July, 1799, and when King Frederick William III. had news of his arrival, he answered: "If Fichte is so quiet a citizen, and is so far removed from all dangerous connections as I learn that he is, I willingly grant him a residence in my country. The state has nothing to do with deciding on religious principles." According to Fichte's own report to his wife, the king is even alleged to have said: "If it is true that he is hostile to God, God may settle this matter with him; it makes no difference to me,"—a mode of expression which fully reminds us of Frederick the Great.¹ Relying upon the king's word, Fichte spent a summer and autumn alone in Berlin, and removed his family thither from Jena in the winter. The letters which he wrote to his wife during his solitude, bear traces of indignation at the wrong which he had suffered. His own expression is remarkable as an indication of his character and of his state of mind at that time: "As I do not possess any humility, I must be proud to have something to bring me through the world."

Fichte's Appeal to the Public made different impressions upon his friends. While some compared him to Luther, whose fate he shared,² and referred to the legions who would struggle with him for the cause of enlightenment, others seized the occasion to exhort Fichte to look within himself, and to remind him that his fate was not purely unmerited, but that his philosophical intolerance had called forth the

¹ See *Biogr.* Vol. II. p. 391. We learn from Eylert's *Biographie*, p. 451, Frederick William III's high esteem for Frederick the Great. Unfortunately, no further particulars are given here of Fichte's appointment. However, the presence of Fichte in Berlin produced many commotions, as well in the government as in the public, for he had enviers in the ministry; comp. Fichte's and Schelling's *Philosophische Briefwechsel*, pub. by J. G. Fichte and K. E. A. Schelling, p. 8. Stuttgart, 1856.

² Forberg to Fichte, *Biographie*, p. 413.

reaction of political intolerance. Lavater was one of these sincere and well-meaning friends. Here, as everywhere, he despised the intrusion of rough physical violence upon the conflicts of spiritual forces. "Where there is light," he wrote to Fichte on the 12th of September, 1795, there "is opposition from without; where there is life, the less vital asserts itself by numbers and coalition. We all experience this. Every day I see more clearly that inward force excites outward force against it, and that positive power is in constantly increasing conflict with natural, real, and indwelling strength. As the flesh in us opposes the spirit, so does the world,—that is, the power of the multitude,—oppose the power of independent minds. What a contrast between your condition and your philosophy! Oh, my dear friend, through what morasses of contrasts must we labor!"¹

We have already seen how Lavater, in a poem, thrust aside the charge of atheism against Fichte by reference to him as a man.² But after Fichte's Appeal appeared, Lavater wrote to him, on the 7th of February, 1799, as follows: "Your heart loves the truth, though your understanding must look down with a sort of compassion upon mine, which does not reach to the heel of yours. My first feeling was a regret that, when you were so dictatorially attacked, you were not questioned about your opinions, and the course of respectful humanity was not adopted. But, I must say with equal frankness, I felt very uncomfortable on reading so many sharp and bitter passages against your opponents. Do you not believe, dear friend, that it would have been better for your person and for the good cause if you had treated them more good-naturedly, and done more justice to their opinions? . . . What, at the present time, is unquestionably the reigning, and what the oppressed church? Evidently, it is the reigning philosophy that oppresses the church. What distinguishes the prevailing philosophical church from every common, orthodox, or hierarchical church? Certainly it is not tolerance and forbearance, nor mildness and fairness toward opponents, who scarcely dare to speak any more. What bonds of inhuman opinions, censures, unworthy

¹ *Biographie*, p. 415.

² *Comp. Lecture X.*

scoffs, and ignoble misdeeds can be accumulated to furnish proof of it! How often has this been brought home to the critical philosophers; but what good has it done? And, allow me to confess freely, your Appeal has just this harshness and intolerance toward others who think as freely as yourself." Then Lavater confessed to him, with all candor, that the Fichtian God is not that of Christianity, nor the one whom humanity now needs or is qualified for. "Of millions of men," he writes, "there is scarcely one who can leap so far beyond himself, and have the very least thought, or even feeling, of your God. And a God with whom we cannot think or feel at all, is not only no God, but, to him who cannot think or feel anything of him, is an absolute nonentity."

Fichte did not receive this letter of Lavater very favorably. He thus expressed himself on it to Reinhold, the philosopher: "Lavater, too, has written to me. Apart from that common misconception of the true meaning of philosophy, he has a faith in the authority of Jesus, Paul, etc., or, more strictly, in his Zürich translation of the Bible, which makes it impossible for me to adjust his opinions. I have recently answered him briefly, that he did not understand me, and have promised him a more elaborate reply, which, because of my disgust at the whole affair, I shall have to leave unfulfilled."¹

This false relation in which the so-called scientific standpoint stood to that of faith, now grew continually larger in Protestant Christendom, and we are suffering from it to this very day. It appears as if there was a studied wish to misunderstand it, and, instead of restoring the breach, to make it continually larger. Yet it is remarkable that just when Fichte had gone farthest from the common spirit of Christianity, he was again led near to it. His removal to Berlin brought on the crisis in his inward life. "His profound return to himself," says the younger Fichte of his father, "his real completion, and his ripest maturity in doctrine and in his view of life, began after this epoch, when, separated from all the pressure of predominant or conflicting opinions, and undis-

¹ *Biographie*, Vol. II. p. 275.

turbed about the applause or reprobation of others, he employed himself only with his self-culture. . . . Elevating and reconciling many antitheses, the religious view of the world subsequently arose in him, and he embraced it with confidence and strength."¹ Afterward, Fichte himself did not regret the occurrence of the controversy, because it had induced him to penetrate the living fountain of inward strength. A conversion in the ordinary sense, that is, a complete return to the orthodox doctrine of the church, or a renunciation of the speculative standpoint and a falling back upon mere edification and practice, could not be expected of a mind like Fichte's; still less could we expect a leaping from one extreme to the other, or a sudden change of language. Had this course been taken, there would have been but little gained for either Fichte or the truth; for, though practical Christianity was exposed to much danger because of this increasing speculative tendency in Germany, we would not forget that it betokened a freshness and activity of the mind, which indicated a revivification of religious ideas, an intellectual new birth soon to take place in all religious thinking. "The thought of a living God," says the younger Fichte, "as he frees man from the bondage of imperfection, and redeems the will from the tantalizing labor of an endless struggle, (since it is apprehended that good-will, humility, and love, and not the deed, avail before him), was present in the earlier times in faith and experience, and was at the farthest remove from the education of that day. If it should be recovered, it would be just as much in need of sanctification through science and higher development as this latter had first broken loose from faith."²

It is nevertheless remarkable, that just Fichte's idealism, which led him to the abyss of atheism, was compelled, in opposition to the barren intellectual view of divine things, to aid in leading to the profound, fundamental ideas of Christianity, to the idea of the resignation of the whole spirit to God, and of the blessedness which, even in this life, is found in communion with the Eternal, and to oppose the defective

¹ *Biographie*, Vol. II. p. 409.

² *Idem*, p. 411.

moral standpoint, which had been occupied since Kant's day, by a truly religious one in the deepest sense of the word.

Fichte, in his *Destiny of Man*, published in Berlin at the close of the century, referred to the deep meaning of faith;¹ and in his *Fundamental Features of the Present Age*, he made prominent the importance of Christianity in history "as the only true religion," and the great meaning of the Christian state.² After this he strove, especially in his *Advice for a Blessed Life, or the Doctrine of Religion*, a series of popular lectures delivered in Berlin in 1806,³ to prove the union of his present system of philosophy with the principles of Christianity, and construed the latter quite differently from Kant. While Kant and the Rationalists made the essence of Christianity to consist principally in morality, in the fulfillment of the moral law, and therefore designated and prized with special pleasure those parts of the Holy Scriptures in which the individual moral requirements are presented in sharply defined characters, as the Sermon on the Mount and many of the parables in the first three Gospels (for they could not acquire a taste for John, whom they regarded as a Mystic), Fichte now cast himself upon the fourth Gospel, and recognized in it the only reliable source for Christ's true doctrine. Yet he did this in a one-sided way, and misconceived the remaining Scriptural truths, which belong to the entire body of Christian doctrine and history just as much as John does.

"The philosopher," says Fichte, "can only concur with John, for he alone respects reason, and appeals to *the* inward proof which the philosopher alone allows. 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine, whether it be of God or whether I speak of myself.' The other promulgators of Christianity built upon the outward demonstration of miracles, which, at least to us, prove nothing. Further, John alone of the Evangelists contains what we seek and wish, a doctrine

¹ Third Book. The whole is divided into doubt, knowledge, and faith. Comp. especially the beautiful conclusion.

² In Lecture XIII. p. 409 ff.

³ His labors in Erlangen, in 1805, were only temporary.

of religion; the best which the rest afford, on the other hand, if taken without John's supplement and interpretation, is nothing more than morality, which, with us, has a very subordinate value."¹ In these last words, Fichte discarded Kant and the Kantian Rationalism in the most decided manner, and turned to Mysticism, to which the inward and prominent relation to God is of infinitely more value than the incidental and passing expression of feeling in the outward relations of life. But while he thus brought John again to honor, he was as unable as the Rationalists, or perhaps still less so than they, to feel at home in the Pauline Christianity, for he incomprehensibly designates it as a degeneration of Christianity.² And why so? Because Fichte, with all his approach to Christianity, totally ignored the nature of sin and the opposition between sin and redemption, which Paul makes so prominent; and he expected salvation only from an immediate union with God, which boldly sets aside this opposition by an ideal leap. "Christianity," he says, in contradiction of Paul, "is not a means for reconciliation and absolution; man can never be disunited from God, and so far as he imagines that he is disunited from him, he is a nothing, which can therefore not sin, but on whose forehead there rests merely the oppressive delusion of sin, in order to lead him to the true God."³

He could here have learned something from his favorite John, though he would not listen to Paul: "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us." (1 John i. 8). But he preferred to adhere to the passages in John which affirm that the one united with God, who truly lives, does not sin any more. The directness of the relation between Christ and the Father, which appears especially in John's Gospel, had with him the force of the expression of the relation as it should be in general between God and man. And while he was right here, he erred in supposing that what man *should be*, that to which he should be purified after many conflicts and by union with the

¹ *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, p. 155.

² *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, p. 421.

³ *Ibid.*

Redeemer ("for it hath not yet appeared what we shall be"), was already present; and herein he again showed himself the unpractical and unhistorical idealist. Yet it may give a certain interest to follow a thinker like Fichte, who lived at a day which had for the most part turned away from the profound fundamental truths of Christianity, and to see how he interpreted Christianity after his own manner, how his language became Christian, and how, without being compelled outwardly by any authority,—to which he would never have submitted,—he was reduced to give honor to eternal truth. And though much that Fichte declared to be Christianity was still controlled by scholastic notions, and expressed in the language of the schools, we nevertheless feel that we are henceforth fanned by a milder breeze than that which set in so sharply and piercingly against us from his doctrine of science.

The only true being, the principle that pervaded his doctrine of religion, is the Absolute, or God. But this absolute Being not only exists, but does not remain concealed in itself; it has also an existence here, that is, a revelation, an expression of itself. God reveals himself in us, in our consciousness, and it is only the much-divided and multiform world that draws us from God; but we should comprehend the Eternal One in one great focus of our spiritual life. We can do this religiously by faith, and scientifically by idea. Our finite Ego must receive in itself the absolute Ego by faith and thought; and in this inward connection there subsist salvation and eternal life. Fichte speaks simply and comprehensibly on this point as follows: "Wilt thou behold God as he is in himself, face to face? Do not seek him beyond the clouds, for thou canst find him wherever thou art. Look at the life of his devout children, and thou lookest at him. Surrender thyself to him, and thou wilt find him in thy breast."¹

As we formerly observed that Fichte designated morality as a subordinate matter, he meant by it that morality which estimates the value of actions more according to their out-

¹ *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, p. 146.

ward scope, the utility which they serve in the world, etc. He rightly opposed this utilitarian morality, and the pharisaism of the righteousness of works, and showed, from a truly Protestant standpoint, how everything depends on the inward disposition *with* which we act, and on the faith *by* which we act. Here, he was not so far from Paul as he seems in other cases to stand aloof from him. "Religion," says he, "is not a mere reverential dreaming, nor an independent work that can be carried on separately from other work, as on certain days and hours; but it is the inward spirit which pervades all our thinking and acting, and immerses into itself. . . . The sphere in which we act is of no consequence. . . . To him who has only a lowly calling, this vocation becomes sanctified by religion, and receives through it, if not the material, at least the form of higher morality, to which nothing more belongs than that we should perceive and love God's will *toward* and *in* us. Thus, if any one faithfully till his field or carry on the plainest manual labor in this faith, he is higher and more blessed than some one (supposing such a thing possible) who should bless humanity for thousands of years without this faith."¹ Luther had said, in a perfectly similar way, that the servant-girl who sweeps the street can do it in faith, and consequently in a manner well-pleasing to God. This is the inward morality which Christianity (in positive antithesis to ancient heathendom) requires, and Protestantism in particular requires in it; and here we find Fichte on the right ground.

Let us take, in addition to these, some of his other expressions that harmonize perfectly with the inward nature of the gospel: "Love is higher than all reason; it is even the fountain of reason and the root of reality, the only creator of life and of time. . . . As it is everywhere the source of truth and certainty, so is it also of finished truth in the real man and his life. . . . The living life is love, and, as love, possesses what is loved; and it is eternally one and the same

¹ *Anrede zum seligen Leben*, p. 150. His expression on free-will in his *Addresses to the German Nation* are perfectly Pauline.

love, though it is comprised in, pervaded by, and melted and blended with it. . . . So far as man is love—and he is always this in the root of his life—he remains eternally one, true, and incorruptible, just as God himself; . . . and what John says is not a bold metaphor, but a literal truth: ‘He that dwelleth in love dwelleth in God, and God in him.’ . . . Salvation itself consists in love and in the eternal satisfaction of love, and is inaccessible by reflection; the idea can only express it negatively; it can only say what it is not. It cannot be positively described, but only directly felt. Doubt makes miserable, for it drags us hither and thither, and spreads before us the impenetrable night of uncertainty, in which we can find no safe path to tread. The religious man is forever relieved of the possibility of doubt and uncertainty. He knows every moment what he desires and what he should desire; for the deepest root of his life,—his will,—strikes unmistakably lower, and is directly from Deity; its intimations are infallible, and it has an unerring perception of what its intimations are. At every moment it knows certainly that it will know to all eternity what it wishes and should know; and that the fountain of divine love opened in it will never be exhausted, but will insatiably support him, and lead him eternally forward. It is the root of his existence; having arisen clearly to him, his eye is fastened upon it with inward love; how could the fountain dry up, or his eye turn in another direction? Nothing that takes place around him, alienates him. Whether he understands it or not, he knows of a certainty that it is in God’s world, and that in this world there can be nothing which is not designed for a good end. He has no fear of the future, for absolute blessedness leads him eternally forward toward it.”¹

If we now ask how Fichte regarded all this as brought to pass by Christianity, we shall find that the person of Jesus has to him a totally different meaning from what it had to the Rationalists. He does not see in him simply the moral teacher or moral example. No, just that *being one with God*, as Christ expresses it in John; just that real union with the

¹ *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, pp. 288, 291, 303.

Father which the Rationalists would remove as a metaphysical formula not affecting morality, were to him the very essence and star of the gospel. It was on this account that he became so intimately attached to John, and to his doctrine of the incarnate Logos, in which he beheld the fullness of all religious knowledge. But we would do very wrong to conclude from this that Fichte, in his doctrine of Christ, unites with the old orthodox doctrine of the church. What the latter regarded as a historical fact, was construed by Fichte as a deed eternally repeating itself, and occurring in every religious man. Christ was to him, not the Redeemer in the old sense, but only the representative of what continually happens. "The eternal Word becomes flesh at all times and in everybody, without exception, who is vitally aware of his unity with God, and really and actually surrenders his whole individual life to the divine life in him . . . in just the same way as takes place in Jesus Christ."¹

Fichte, indeed, confesses that the perception of this absolute unity of the human being with the divine did not take place before the time of Jesus; but this, in his opinion, does not affect the matter; for it is a merely historical observation of but little moment. "If one is united with God," says he, "the way he came to this state is a small matter; and it would be a very useless and erroneous employment, instead of living in the condition itself, only to be constantly calling up the remembrance of the way."² But yet we think that very much depends upon knowing this way; and Fichte himself confesses, that all those living since the time of Jesus who have become united with God, have only attained this union through him and by his instrumentality; indeed, he candidly admits, that, "to the end of time, all people of understanding will bow reverently before Jesus of Nazareth, and the more all people are themselves, the more reverently will they acknowledge the exceeding glory of this great phenomenon."³ But he does not believe that Christ himself attached the value to this acknowledgment which the church

¹ *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, p. 166.

² *Idem*, p. 173.

³ *Idem*, p. 172.

lays upon it. He thinks, like Herder, that if Jesus should return to the world as a human individual, he would be perfectly contented to find only Christianity ruling in the spirit of man, whether men praised or did not praise his *merits*. "For," says he, "the very least that might be expected of a man who lived on earth, is not to seek his own honor, but that of Him who had sent him."

Fichte was perfectly right in holding that Christ did not seek this honor for his own sake, and we too believe that a living Christianity, even with many doctrinal errors on the person of Christ, yea, even with a partial misconception of his personality, is better than the most orthodox repeating of "Lord, Lord," without the true spirit and right feeling. But Christ and Christianity, the person and the thing, history and metaphysics, cannot be so violently sundered as Fichte seems to suppose.¹ Thus was love, which Fichte himself had beautifully and enthusiastically placed the more in advance as the essential of all religion in proportion as it had acquired supremacy over the prejudice of the understanding, authoritatively compelled to turn to the person from which it sprang, and as personal love, the love for Christ, to become all the more inward and fruitful.

Fichte undoubtedly did the service of directing attention to the nature of religion, and of having delivered it from the bondage of mere morality. While so many, and even orthodox Christians among the number, had regarded eternal life only as future, and belonging to the next world, and though even Kant had established faith in God and immortality on the necessity of a future retribution, Fichte (in perfect harmony with the Scriptures) made eternal life to consist in our perceiving and loving God even here, and in knowing that we are attached to him in a holy communion. This living in God was to him, even in his early period, before he became overwhelmed by his own speculation, the safest pledge for his better future in later years. In 1790, he thus wrote from Leipzig to his betrothed: "Our understanding is too narrow

¹ This arbitrary separation belongs completely to the standpoint of Kantian Rationalism.

for Deity to dwell in; our heart alone is a worthy home for him. The safest means to be convinced of a life after death, is to so lead the present life that we can wish it. He who feels that, if there is a God, he will most mercifully look down upon him, cannot be affected by any arguments against his existence, and he stands in need of none for it. He who has made such great sacrifice for virtue that he can expect remuneration in a future life,¹ does not prove and believe the existence of such a life,—he feels it. My affectionate partner, for this span of life and for eternity, let us be strengthened in this vocation, not by arguments, but by acts!”²

In his Advice for a Blessed Life, he scorns the prospect of a subtilized, sensuous happiness in another life, because it is founded on egotism and personal selfishness. But God's love shall destroy selfishness, and fill the whole heart; and where it fills the heart, it is even here the source of salvation. The question does not depend upon the circumstances in which we live either here or there; God, who is to-day what he will be forever, will bless us through himself, and hence there is neither here nor there an eternal life outside of him. Fichte, as Schleiermacher after him, has shown that there can also be such an immoral and irreligious belief in immortality, as seeks only itself, and not God, hereafter. “This way of thinking, laid down in the form of a prayer,” says Fichte, “would express itself in this manner: ‘Lord, let only *my* will be done, in all, and therefore blessed, eternity; and for this Thou shalt have Thine in this brief and weary temporal life.’ But the truly pious man prays thus: ‘Lord, if only Thy will be done, mine will be done through it, for I have no other will than Thine.’”³ We shall hereafter see how even this feeling could degenerate into a resignation of pride, which is very different from Christian resignation, and how the statement, which is true in itself, that eternal life must begin even here, was so perverted as to be held only as a temporal life. In opposition to the

¹ This is Kantianism, but mollified by the introduction of feeling.

² *Fichte's Leben*, Vol. I. p. 123.

³ *Anweisung zum seligen Leben*, p. 248.

sluggishness of moral sentiment, in which the great portion of Fichte's contemporaries had certainly sunken, this reference to the great importance of the present life had, however, great value, particularly when the impression was strengthened by the strong personal character of Fichte, to which we shall here return for a moment.

With all the exceptionable roughness and angularity in his deportment, we cannot deny that he was possessed of the higher dignity of sentiment. His character stands before us as Protestant and reformatory, not only in the department of thought, but especially in that of life and morality.² As he strove, as a university professor, to restrain the coarse habits of student life (for example, to put an end to duelling by the establishment of courts of honor), so was he one of the first in that period of political depression who attempted to revive the prostrated national feeling of the Germans, and to give "spirit and hope to the broken-hearted." To this end he directed his beautiful Addresses to the German Nation, which he delivered in the building of the Academy of Science and Art in the Winter of 1807—1808, while his voice was often drowned by the French drums that were beaten through the streets, and while well-known spies appeared in the lecture-room.³ The report was even circulated through the city a number of times, that he had been seized and carried off by the enemy. It is not our purpose here to enter particularly into the import of those Addresses, nor to follow further his active interest, in the latter part of his life, in the German War of Liberation. We would only call attention to them for the purpose of completing our picture. Fichte expected great advantages from a better education, which would not only apply the command of virtue outwardly to

¹ His philosophy was called by Fr. Schlegel the most elaborate Protestantism; see *Biogr.*, p. 314. That Fichte himself believed in the further development of Protestantism, of which he regarded himself as a powerful organ, see *Grundzüge des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters*, p. 412: "The universal part taken by the ecclesiastical Reformation has not yet terminated."

² *Biographie*, p. 529.

man, but strengthen his will by love. "The dawn of the new world," he thus says, "has already begun, and even gilds the tops of the mountains, and prefigures the coming day."

Fichte did not survive this desired day of freedom. He could only labor as a professor for a short time in the newly established University of Berlin. In the Spring of 1808, when he was intending to begin his philosophical lectures in it, he was attacked by a dangerous disease, from which, however, he recovered. After this, many interruptions were caused by the preparations for the war. In the Winter term of 1813, however, he resumed his lectures, but the hospital fever prostrated his wife upon a sick bed in 1814. The disease was produced by the Christian and pious fidelity with which this excellent woman, chiefly at her husband's suggestion, attended upon the sick soldiers in the hospital. Fichte now devoted himself to caring for her with the greatest self-sacrifice, and with extreme anxiety. One evening, having taken his departure from the unconscious sick woman to go to his lecture, and, with the greatest self-control, having read two successive hours on the most abstruse subjects, he returned with the thought of perhaps finding her dead, when the crisis had a favorable issue, and the physicians had hope for the first time. His wife was saved, but it cost her husband's life. Even on the next day he felt very unwell, and there was no mistaking the character of his sickness. Having received the news of Blücher's crossing the Rhine, and the rapid march of the Allies into France, his spirit was once more aroused to bright hopes, and his joy at the movement became interwoven with the delirium of fever, so that he thought that he was himself taking part in the battle. Had not his whole life been a battle, with the sword of the intellect in his hand? Shortly before his death, his son brought medicine to him, when he made the significant reply: "Lay it aside; I need no more medicine; I feel that I have recovered!"

Fichte died on the night of the 27th of January, 1814, before reaching his fifty-second year, but in undiminished physical and intellectual strength. His wife survived him five years, and, as she had arranged it, was buried at her

husband's feet, in the cemetery before the Oranienburg Gate in Berlin. The spot is designated by a high obelisk, bearing the following inscription, from Daniel (xii. 3): "And they that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever."

How far these prophetic words may be applied to Fichte's labors as a philosophical instructor, depends entirely on the judgment we pass on the moral and religious import of his system. As we have seen, it had different stages. It first appeared only as the consistent continuation of Kant; then it manifested itself as complete idealism, gloomy, ghost-like, and clouded by the suspicion of atheism; but finally, the setting star turned with bright splendor toward Christianity, and, though not in the form of a full and unreserved evangelical confession, as we have seen with other philosophers, yet in a philosophical way of thinking related to the Christian sphere. And just this Christian knowledge became to some the transition to simple faith, to that righteousness of which the Prophet speaks in the passage cited. But if, as we have already seen, Fichte must be estimated not only as a philosophical author and a university professor, but also as a man of *life*, we should not forget, as a gratifying feature of his domestic life, that, in the house of the celebrated philosopher, every day, without exception, was concluded by an appropriate and solemn religious service, in which the servants were accustomed to take part. After some verses of a hymn had been sung, with the accompaniment of the piano, the head of the family made some remarks on a passage from the New Testament, especially from John, his favorite Evangelist. In these lectures he looked less at moral applications and rules of life than at purifying the spirit from the distractions and vanities of the common work of life, and at elevating it to incorruptible things. The beneficial influence which this exerted upon the members of the family, and upon those who only visited it, is attested by the experience of Fichte's own son, to whom we are indebted for the most of the information concerning his father's life.

LECTURE XII.

SCHELLING AND HIS NATURAL PHILOSOPHY.—PANTHEISM AND PSEUDO-ORTHODOXY.—F. H. JACOBI, AND THE RELIGION OF THE SPIRIT IN OPPOSITION TO ORTHODOXY AND SPECULATION.

The thinking mind cannot confine itself to Fichte's idealism, with which we were employed in the last lecture. The Ego could not persist in its retirement within itself any more than a man can long keep from stifling by holding his breath. The reality of a world, the actual existence of a creation outside of us, was asserted with such vigor that the opinion that everything is only imagination could not long stand the test. But Fichte's idealism could as little pass by without leaving any traces behind it as it could endure permanently, and its true and striking characteristic, the transformation of common reality by the inward act of the spirit, remained as clear gain. For after all, in spite of all the reality of the world, all the abundance of its forms, and the continual change in its phenomena, that it is man who looks at them with human eyes, while it vanishes in a shapeless mass before the brute, that our Ego is certainly reflected in the world as well as the world in our Ego, so that it is we who first imprint upon nature the stamp of the divine, in order that we may divine, through the husk of the sensuous, the kernel of the supersensuous,—these are intellectual experiences that can never be taken back, and bestow upon life itself a higher charm, in opposition to a spiritless and thoughtless objectivity, which views life purely externally,

though in vigorous sensuousness, yet without all higher flight, and without placing it in relation to our inward nature.

Therefore, though the mind, now awakened from its idealistic dream, returned again to external nature and its phenomena, nature was no more to it a dead machine and only propelled from without; it now knew a spiritually living nature, one in which God does not simply take part from time to time in order to perform miracles, but in which he expresses himself every moment, which he essentially pervades, fills, and vitalizes. In a word, God and the world, spirit and nature, life without us, within us and above us, should no more be confined within narrow bounds, and appear to be separated simply from each other, as previously, but should be placed before our consciousness in a living relation and personality.

This was the problem of the new age, to the solution of which, Schelling, the younger contemporary of Fichte, unquestionably contributed most. As Fichte had first united with Kant, so did Schelling first connect with Fichte, whom he had heard in Jena, and with whom he was affiliated for a time;¹ but he soon departed from that idealism which regards the world only as the reflection of our spirit. It is not our eye which springs from the world, but it is the world which looks at us with its animated eyes; at us, in whom it recognizes its own essence, and in whom, as if be-thinking itself, it finds its own whereabouts. The essence of nature is the spirit itself; and though still a slumbering and dreaming spirit in the lower stages of development, it awakens more and more, until it finally comes to self-consciousness in man. Nature and spirit are, accordingly, not separate things, but only the poles of one and the same life, which appears here as moving and there as moved, here as creating and there as created, here as free and there as bound. That which vitalizes and moves this one great universal organism is the World-Soul, which is reflected in our soul, the human soul. Man is the world in miniature (micro-

¹ Compare the Correspondence already cited.

cosm). The world is repeated in him, as in him God perceives himself as God, the World-Soul in the human soul.

These disconnected propositions suffice to show us how Schelling opposed the spiritually dead observation of nature, which prevailed among the Rationalists as well as the orthodox, and which was a general peculiarity of the early period, by his living and poetic observation of nature, and by his fullness of the anticipations and relations that are, and will ever remain, an enigma to a barren understanding, though they continually press themselves upon the notice of the spiritually-aroused man. Here lies the merit of this philosophy. Poets and artists can most easily coincide with it. Even natural philosophy may be willing to enter into friendly relations with it, although the sober inquirer will not be so easily induced to look through speculative presumptions, but will continually assert a solid experience and observation in opposition to natural fiction.

But what is the position of this philosophy toward religion, morality, Christianity, and Protestantism? This is a question of deep concern to us, but its decision is extremely difficult. On one hand, it seems to be a gain for religion, for instead of a God standing merely above and outside of the world, there is established a God in the world, who not only created us and cares for us, but in whom we live, and move, and have our being. There may also be for us religious men, states of mind in which it is a great advantage to us, even in the midst of this visible world that surrounds us, to feel so near to God's heart that our own life appears to us only as a pulsation of the great World-Soul moving everything, and that we, like a drop in the sea, lose ourselves in the One and All, and wish for nothing more longingly than to be absorbed in it. But if we look at these states of mind closely, they are rather poetical than religious, and are not those which Christianity and the Old and New Testament Scriptures chiefly inculcate in us; for even the Bible makes us acquainted with a God who is not very far from any one of us, though the difference between God and the world, and the Creator and the creature, is most distinctly defined; and

just the sense of God's holiness, which is nourished by the feeling of distance, between the Eternal One and finite creatures, prevents that natural confidence by which we seem to ourselves as the mere thoughts of God, the beams of his glory, the breath of his being. In short, this is pantheism, which can never permanently harmonize with Christian thinking, though it has appeared at different periods even in the Christian world, and is more sharply defined by the philosophy of nature. It is the doctrine of the All-One, which is now conceived as God and now as the world, and therefore does not lead to any true worship of God, but passes off into that poetical enthusiasm for nature which constitutes the foundation of heathen worship.

On this point let us hear the testimony of a celebrated German theologian, who committed himself for a time to Schelling's system, but renounced it after perceiving this very fact. Tzschirner speaks of his acquaintance with this philosophy as follows: "I must confess that the universal life which it breathes into dead nature, and communicates to suns and planets as to the worm and to the plant, and the union which it establishes between the infinite and the finite, have strangely attracted me. Physics had taught me to regard the heavenly bodies only as masses that move lifelessly by the law of gravity, and probably only serve, just as our planet, as a dwelling-place for living beings of different kinds. But the philosophy of nature animated these masses, and I looked above more gladly to the stars, and felt myself a friend to them in the thought that in them, as in me, the fullness of life, although in infinitely higher potencies, and the consciousness of their creative power and their glad course, dwell in the heavenly spheres. Kant's criticism had set a special, defining boundary between the sensuous and the supersensuous, and had taken from me sight and knowledge, granting me only a faith in the divine, which it removed far beyond the scope of my knowledge. But the natural philosophy threw down the partition-wall between the sensuous and supersensuous, united heaven and earth, and taught me to behold the infinite in the finite. Kant's

criticism had dissolved me into a double being, placed reason and sensation in antagonism and declared an eternal and painful conflict of duty with inclination for the destiny of my earthly existence. The natural philosophy promised me the union of what was separated. It said, the spiritual and the sensuous are one; the body is the corporeal spirit, and the soul is the spiritualized body; reason and sense are only different expressions of one and the same force; and your destiny is not to be sundered from your own self, but to live in peace and unity with yourself and nature. The philosophers of all periods had taught me to distinguish reason from imagination, the realm of truth from that of poetry, and had warned me, if I would find the truth, not to follow the guidance of the imagination, nor mix its fancies with the ideas of reason. The natural philosophy combined reason and imagination in one faculty, the faculty of beholding the infinite, and brought poetry and philosophy into the most intimate connection. . . . But this poetical state of mind soon vanished; barren rest again entered, and I sought to grasp the meaning of this philosophy clearly and plainly.

"Then it seemed to me as if a beautiful enchantment was suddenly broken, when I did not see myself surrounded any longer by lovely fictions, but only by indistinct and airy forms, without consistency and support; and where I had perceived a joyous life, there now yawned an abyss which threatened to swallow up everything sublime and glorious. On careful examination, I found that the natural philosophy was devoid of perspicuity and solid proof, and that it leads to saddest results. What alienated me most from it was the hopeless results with which it terminated. . . . No philosophy had promised me more, and none had given less. It wears a lovely and brilliant robe, but if we take off the beautiful covering, we behold a vacant and faded form, the very sight of which we cannot endure. The philosophy which speaks so much of the contemplation of the infinite, of the revelations of God, and of a blessed life in the Absolute, ends with the result, that everything which exists and occurs, even including man, with his thoughts, resolutions, and acts, is the necessary

effect of a necessary vital force, which . . . unremittingly conceives, brings forth, and transforms its productions, in order to bring forth new ones from its exhaustless fullness. This is the result of the philosophy of nature, by which it takes away everything that gives dignity, purpose, and meaning to life,—the idea of Deity, of immortality, of freedom, and of morality. Do not be deceived by devout language, . . . by the frequent mention of God and his revelations. The God of these natural philosophers is the universe; there dwell in him only life, consciousness and productive power, but no holy will, goodness, and righteousness. . . . The blessed life of this philosophy consists only in the exaltation of the spirit, which, forgetful of itself, perceives and contemplates universal life; the idea of personal immortality is totally foreign to it. . . . Nor does it even recognize any free acts of man; everything is to it appearance, the announcement of the Absolute, while that which appears under a thousand forms, and which it calls freedom and morality, is only life in increased greatness. . . . Its infinitude is only a magnified finiteness, and what we call the supersensuous, because it never comes within the circle of experience,—Deity, freedom, immortality,—we seek in vain in this system.”¹

We shall not decide how far Tzschirner’s criticism is fully justified, how far it rests upon a perfectly correct view of the system, how far his conclusions would be conceded by the author of the system, and how far the critic’s opinion was affected by a certain inability to transpose himself from an old and customary thinking to a thoroughly new one. But it is certain that the impression that this philosophy produced on one thinking and sober theologian, is the same which it has made on many other conscientious Christian teachers and preachers. The Kantian philosophy, and the Rationalism proceeding from it, had, with all its negation, firmly maintained, as the essential ideas of religion, just those ideas of God, freedom, and immortality which Tzschirner had so painfully missed in this natural philosophy; with all their barrenness of doctrine, they had nevertheless established

¹ *Briefe über Reinhard’s Geständnisse*, pp. 47 ff., and 57 ff.

themselves upon this foundation, which the natural philosophy now drew away from its disciples. And what did it give in return? At the first look, much. The natural philosophy seemed even desirous of restoring the old ecclesiastical faith neglected by the Rationalists, and was even saluted by many as the resuscitator of positive Christianity. People now were heard to speak of an incarnation of God, of a Trinity, of a fall, and of redemption. Even the doctrine of the devil was again restored to honor by theologians who adhered to this philosophy;¹ and as people spoke of a *becoming* God, so did they also speak of a *suffering* God. There was, in general, as free a use of exuberant expressions as of violent thrusts at shallow Rationalism. Thus the old orthodox believers appeared to receive in the new philosophy a vigorous ally, and Mysticism, long derided as nonsense, seemed to wish to raise its head more gloriously than ever.

But if we look more closely at what this philosophy understood by those formulas, we shall soon be convinced that it was neither the doctrine of the Reformers and of the ecclesiastical symbols, nor that of the early Church Fathers, nor, finally, that of the Scriptures themselves; but we meet even here again with that process of the self-sundering and reunion of God in nature which is now repeated in history, and finds in Christianity a symbolical expression. The inflexible and firm doctrines of the church are now recast into plastic images that men can twist and shape as they please, and to which they can apply now this and now that meaning. Here again a more ingenious play is granted the imagination, without the understanding and the heart, the real supporters of religious life, acquiring a strong support and direction, and a lasting satisfaction. As in the first Christian centuries the Gnostics exhausted themselves in devising the strangest theories on the origin of the world and the incarnation of God, so do we find here an ingenious philosophical, though less fantastic, myth on the development of the world, which evidently calls to mind Jacob Boehme, from whom Schelling derived most advantage.

¹ Daub, in his *Judas Ischarioth*.

Schelling distinguishes five periods or ages of the world in history. "The first age of the world is the golden one, the period of blessed indecision, when there was neither good nor evil, and when man, as a natural being, dreamed away his time in unconscious innocence. Then followed, second, the period when gods and heroes ruled, the time of nature's omnipotence. But this degenerated, third, into a period when fate ruled, a time of apostasy and dissension, which continued until God revealed himself after his own heart and love. God had to become man, in order that man might again come to God. And thus, fourth, there began with the incarnation of God in Christ a new kingdom, in which the divine Spirit is ever more realized; and fifth, at the end of this period, fate is transformed to prophecy, all evil is overcome, and God is realized All in All."

In these words we certainly listen to a language that has a Biblical and ecclesiastical sound, and even actually calls up Christian truths, which were foreign to the spirit of the day, and to the fundamental truth, that, as Schelling himself expresses it, God became man that man might become divine. If we look more closely, Schelling's incarnation of God is nothing more than God first coming to self-consciousness in man. God is to him not that Father to whom Christ bids us pray in the Lord's Prayer, and whom Paul calls a Father over all his children in heaven and earth, nor the Father who, before the foundation of the world was laid, chose in Christ, of his own free mercy, humanity for his possession. No, the one who is called Father by Schelling is nothing less than that dark, unconscious primeval Cause, or rather causelessness, of all things, who first perceives himself in the Son, and first comes to consciousness through man; in fact he is a gloomy, paternal face, a Saturn who devours his own children, and not a God-Father who loved his children even before they came into existence. God the Son is the self-revelation and self-development of the Father; he is the divine understanding, in which God first perceives his own nature; and as this development of God again returns in multiplied forms to itself, so God is God,—that is, Spirit.

According to Schelling, God is the Alpha and the Omega, the first and the last; but it is as the Omega that he is the true God, the one who has only then become God. Schelling thus makes his God labor through the whole alphabet of self-development until he reaches to his complete existence. This is the secret of the Trinity, in the sense of this system of natural philosophy.

How does the case stand with the person of Christ? As in Fichte so also in Schelling, the historical Christ, Jesus of Nazareth, as he has lived and taught as man, is not the great essential of Christianity, but God universally come to consciousness in man. The incarnation of God, according to Schelling's own words, is not something which has once taken place (empirical), but an incarnation from eternity (ideal), and strictly one and the same with the mystery of nature. Schelling grants that God has become most perfectly self-conscious in the historical Christ, for no one before him has revealed the infinite in such a way; but he will by no means concede that the idea of Christianity is fully dependent on this individuality; for, without this historical ground, this idea has to him the same importance as a metaphysical truth, as it has with Fichte. But when Schelling speaks further of a suffering God, it soon becomes perceptible that he means some one altogether different from what Zinzendorf does, when he speaks of a crucified God and of the Creator's scars. Schelling's suffering God is nothing more than the self-development of God which is to succeed conflicts and birth-pangs. Thus the early Manichæans had called, but only sensuously and fantastically, the suffering of nature, the death of the vegetable world, and similar metamorphoses, the suffering Jesus (*Jesus patibilis*). But if Schelling's view of Christ be correct, we would ask, in the interest of ecclesiastical life, whether the church had not better unite with the Rationalist of the Kantian school, who says coldly and frankly: "I cannot feel at home in your dogmas of the incarnation of God, of the atonement, etc., but prefer to adhere to the simple doctrines of God, virtue, immortality, and the sublime and exalted truths which Jesus has taught in con-

nection with them," than to unite with the pantheist who, under cover of an almost excessive orthodoxy, removes just that which Rationalism had hitherto retained?

Apart from the ignoble character of such deception, this doctrine is deprived of all moral fruitfulness, for it lays claim to man's speculative head, but not to his heart and will. This philosophy is thus distinguished from the earlier Mysticism, to which it bore a resemblance in other respects: Mysticism, where it transferred history to the inward life of man, had principally in view practical holiness, and in this sense it spoke of a Christ being born in us, of a dying with him, and of a rising in him, while speculation takes cognizance of natural events, which underlie the law of necessity; and though it will not allow that it destroys moral freedom, but rather first substitutes true freedom for false, it cannot be denied that the impulse to know and explain the mysteries of all life and growth, far predominates over the impulse to improve the disposition and life of men, and to develop a more worthy existence.¹ Here Schelling's philosophy differs from its Kantian, and especially its Fichtian predecessor, and here too its position toward Protestantism is different. The division of the church into wise and simple believers (Esoterics and Exoterics) is totally foreign to Christianity, and especially Protestant Christianity. A language which only the initiated understand, and only outwardly conforms to the language of the weak and the babes, is far from being the language of the Reformers,—of Luther and Zwingli. But Schelling's philosophy, if compared only with the systems of Kant and Fichte, presents a much less Protestant character than those two. Kant and Fichte, with all their deviations from the orthodox theological system of the Protestant church, stand fully on Protestant ground; indeed, they employ a certain Protestant roughness, and carry with them a moral

¹ Philosophy, as such, certainly has to deal with knowledge; and that should not be raised as an objection to it. But when Christian theology, which has to do with the practical religion of the gospel, merely consists in this philosophy, the case becomes quite different; therefore Schleiermacher proposed a separation at the right time.

sharpness, a corrosive and critical salt, while the natural philosophy, in the poetical twilight where it conceals itself, can be very easily employed by Catholics in support of their doctrine, and even has been thus actually used by them. The Catholic tendency in art, of which we will speak hereafter, found its chief support in this poetical, pantheistic view of the world.

But notwithstanding all this, we would not be blind to the importance of the natural philosophy, nor charge the abuses committed in connection with it, and the playing at hide-and-seek with ecclesiastical forms, upon all those who made use of it to establish their own theological views. Much self-deception and self-persuasion might very easily arise in individual minds. And apart from all this, it cannot be denied that the thorough perception and treatment of everything that has life, by which the later science is distinguished, received its impetus from this natural philosophy, though much stood in need of sifting. Spirit and life came through it into the realm of nature, art, history, and even of theology; for its directing attention once more to the profound importance of the church, of its doctrine, and of its worship, remains a great advantage. It no more passed for narrowness and a want of philosophy when people spoke of the mysteries of faith heartily, reverentially, and enthusiastically; rather, the paltriness and narrowness of the so-called philosophy of the sound human understanding became constantly more apparent. People again dug deeply, and did not stand in fear of miracles, when the latter forced themselves upon the yearning spirit. We shall hereafter see how much Schleiermacher owed to this philosophy.

Let us now turn to the man who had at least as large a share in Schleiermacher's education as Schelling, although Schleiermacher took a position of avowed hostility to the natural philosophy. We mean Frederick Henry Jacobi. I intentionally omitted speaking of this pious and profound thinker, of this child-like and pure man and noble philosopher, until we had seen the phases of the new philosophy as represented in Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, so as to be able

to follow in one aspect this life, which was in contact with all the aforementioned thinkers, — Kant, Fichte and Schelling, — and outwardly constituted, in a certain measure, the center about which the intellectual men of that day gathered.

Frederick Henry Jacobi, the second son of a wealthy merchant of Düsseldorf, and brother of the well-known pleasant lyric poet, John George Jacobi, was born on the 25th of January, 1743.¹ He was therefore a contemporary of Herder and Lavater. His father intended him for the mercantile business, and the boy went to Frankfort-on-the-Main in his sixteenth year to learn it. But he soon exhibited greater fondness for science than for trade. He went to Geneva, where he became acquainted with educated men, especially Le Sage, the mathematician, and with the best works of French literature; and whence, after a couple of years, he returned to his father's house. In his twenty-second year he was married to Betty von Clermont, of Naels, near Aix-la-Chapelle, "a glorious Netherlander," as Goethe calls her, "who, expressing herself vivaciously, without a shadow of sentimentality or sensuousness, but with the most correct feeling, reminded us by her solidity of the women painted by Rubens."² Jacobi soon gave up the mercantile business to become a member of the exchequer, and subsequently to enter the service of the state with the title of Privy Councillor. In this position he lived in circumstances outwardly very favorable. His well-appointed house in Düsseldorf, and particularly his country-seat in the neighboring village of Pempelfort, afforded the thinker and writer a fitting retreat for work, and to the hospitable man the desired opportunity for the entertainment of celebrated guests from all quarters of the cultivated world.

His own social talent, and the emotion accompanying nearly all that he said, contributed largely to the vivacity of intellectual society, and this emotional tone, which was tem-

¹ Comp. Herbst's *Biographie*, in the *Bibliothek christlicher Denker*. Leipz., 1830. Vol. I. But the subsequently published *Briefwechsel zwischen Göthe und Fr. H. Jacobi*, by Max Jacobi, is specially important for estimating his character. Leipzig, 1846.

² *Aus meinem Leben*, Book xiv. (Stuttgart Ed. 1829. xxvi. p. 285.)

pered by that of refined manners, passed over into his writings. Jacobi's capacity for authorship has been questioned, because he was devoid of profound learning; he was, it is said, rather the scientific amateur.¹ But it seems to me of the greatest significance that a man who stood aloof from all German pedantry, and had been chiefly incited by French culture; a man who did not need to dispute for a philosophical lecture-room, for he had more than enough for his physical life, should venture into the depths of philosophy through the inward impulse of his own mind, but yet not to make a name for himself, or to establish a school, but simply to gain clearness of view on the highest concerns of humanity.

This impulse affected Jacobi in early childhood. "I was still wearing baby-frocks," he says, "when I began to be troubled about things of the future world, and my childish acuteness led me in my eighth or ninth year to certain views that cling to me to this very hour. The earnest desire to attain to certainty on the anticipations of man, increased with my years, and it has become the thread to which all my remaining experiences must join." Nor did this impulse forsake him in his later years. In his *Conversation on Idealism and Realism* he says: "I am now over forty-three years of age, and I have been thrown hither and thither with a tolerably rough hand. Thousands of men may surpass me in intellectual gifts, but certainly there are few who exceed me in steadfastness and zeal in struggling for understanding and truth. I have unweariedly sought the most celebrated and also uncelebrated sources of human knowledge, and from many I have searched for the fountain until it was lost in invisible veins. I saw near me other inquirers, and many of them were among the greatest of my contemporaries. I have also had the opportunity, and have also been compelled, to try my strength, and to have it tried, in various ways."²

¹ See Gervinus (Vol. IV. p. 556 ff.), who estimates him, as well as Herder, Claudius, Stilling, Lavater, and even Herder, too, in part, from a point of view that we cannot occupy, though, on the other hand, we would not place Jacobi so low as is done by the *Evang. Kircheng.*, of Berlin; April No. 1843.

² *Werke*, published by Roth, Vol. II. p. 133.

Jacobi has become strictly the philosopher of life and of the educated world, but in a higher and nobler sense than those philosophers who attempted, by shallowing, to make popular the thoughts outwardly raked up, rhetorically fashioned, and only thinly skimmed from the surface. No, that honest struggling for profundity as well as clearness, that persistent introspection, that requiring account of our inmost nature, that return to feeling, the original element in man, and, finally, that humanity with which he welcomed every phenomenon in the intellectual sphere whose serious character he observed, but also that dignified wrath with which he repelled all denial of a personal God and all dishonor of virtue,—these are what place him on a level with Herder, and must make him worthy of a position with those who, scorning the borrowed phrases of the schools, have determined to pursue the same course of inward experience of life, let the cry of fashion be what it may.

Jacobi stood to the philosophy of his day, as it had flowed down from Kant to Schelling, in a very peculiar relation.¹ He was incited by each of these systems; he learned from each, and on each of them he exercised his strength. But he was not satisfied by either of them, yet was most strongly repelled by pantheism, whether the earlier pantheism of Spinoza, whom he highly esteemed as a man, or its later form in Schelling's natural philosophy. According as one forms an idea of philosophy, Jacobi was either an opponent of all philosophy, a non-philosopher, as he called himself, or, which we hold him to be, he was a philosopher in the sense that Socrates was, by his knowledge of his ignorance, and by his vast and abundant knowledge of himself and the world.²

¹ This relation cannot be very easily described. "Take the trouble at some convenient time," Goethe writes to Jacobi, "to explain to me, in what respect you differ from our new philosophers, and where they differ from you, and thus enable me to contend with them in your name." *Briefwechsel*, p. 209.

² "Jacobi was not strictly a philosopher. He never attained to a system. But he was a complete man, who philosophized as a complete man; an occasional philosopher if you will, but possessing an impar-

He was certainly a decided opponent of philosophy, the ultimate object of which is the merely formal knowledge of things. He had no sense for that merely "logical enthusiasm" whose highest end is thought itself. His great object was not the explanation of things, but just that which cannot be explained, comprised into notions, or divided into words,—the simple and the indissoluble. "The ground of all speculative philosophy," he says, "is only a great hole, into which we look in vain, as into a horrible and gloomy abyss."¹ But this disinclination to speculative philosophy did not prevent him from seeking its ground, but he dugged inwardly, while others digged at the same hole outwardly. "No one," says Jacobi, "can despise subtleties more than I do, but I distinguish from them [highly significant] the free effort of the inmost, original sense."² And Jacobi established everything on this inmost, original sense. "There is," he says, "a knowledge of the supernatural, of God and divine things; it is the most certain in the human spirit, an absolute knowledge springing directly from the human reason; but it can never shape itself into a science."³

Jacobi did not despise reason, but rather pleaded for it; only reason was not to him a faculty for the creation, discovery, or production of truth from itself. But by reason he meant, according to the derivation of the word, that which perceives, the inmost and original sense. He therefore did not regard reason and faith in conflict with each other, but as one. Faith inwardly supplies what knowledge cannot obtain. Here Jacobi united with Kant in acknowledging the insufficiency of our knowledge to produce a demonstration of God and divine things; for "the demonstration of that which is to be proved, *spirit*, can never undergo scientific treatment, because it cannot become *letter*; and we destroy

tiality and purity of research, and an inspiration and beauty of representation, as were possessed by few of the philosophical guild." Kahnis, *Der innere Gang des deutschen Protestantismus*, p. 128. Leipzig, 1854. Comp. also Perthes' *Leben*, Vol. I. p. 67 ff.

¹ *Werke*, Vol. I. p. 366. ² To Hamann, *Werke*, Vol. I. p. 408.

³ *Von den göttl. Dingen u. ihrer Offenbarung*, p. 152. Note. Leipz., 1811.

the spirit by our habit of changing it into the letter.”¹ But the vacant place which Kant had therefore left in his system for divine things, and which he only supplied imperfectly and unsatisfactorily by that which he referred to practical reason, Jacobi filled up by the doctrine of faith. Man can certainly not reach God in thought, but he can feel and experience him. We must love God, he says with Pascal, in order to perceive him. This love, as we experience it lovingly in ourselves, is original, and proves itself to our spirit before all thinking. We know of God and his Spirit because we are born of God, created after his image, and are his offspring and generation. God lives in us, and our life is hid in God. If he were not immediately present in this way, by his image in our inmost self, what is there beyond him that can declare him to us?

Jacobi thus believed in a revelation of God to man, but one continuously published to his inmost nature, which he perceives with reason, without being able to grasp with the understanding.² But however much he used this faith in revelation in opposing the cold, calculating understanding, he was just as far from taking side with the believers in revelation, in the ecclesiastical sense of the word. And here was the point in which he differed from his friends Claudius, Hamann, Lavater, and from the professors of positive Christianity in general, and by which he made it impossible for himself to acquire the name of a strictly Christian philosopher, though his sentiment, the whole contemplation and effort of his heart, and the entire tendency of his philosophy, were thoroughly Christian. Just because Jacobi made everything dependent on the eternal self-experience of the spirit, and because that to him was divine which every one must himself perceive, a revelation

¹ *Werke*, Vol. II. p. 314.

² Jacobi, especially in his later writings, rendered the service of carrying out fully and acutely, even in a philosophical view, the distinction between reason and understanding, which Kant had only half grasped. See Chalybæus' *History of Speculative Philosophy*, pp. 60. 61. American Edition.

derived from without, however provided with all miracles, was as little calculated to satisfy him as a philosophical system externally constructed and outwardly learned. In both instances he thought that he perceived the deadly nature of the letter. As speculative philosophy was too idealistic for him, so was the orthodox faith too realistic, material, and positive. Personally, he highly esteemed the strict believers in revelation, and felt himself united with them most intimately by living faith in God and by piety of heart. From his work on Divine Things and Their Revelation, we can see how intimate his relation was to Claudius. But it seemed to him that these pious people were involved in a self-deception, for they ascribed that to external revelation which lies in themselves, and which is only awakened in them, but not first produced, by the reading of the Scriptures. It is with them, he thought, as with children who, when they are riding on a hobby-horse, think that the horse is moving them, while they owe it to their own effort that they continue in motion. "It all depends upon their own centrifugal force and firm attitude, with wisdom, courage, and a good will; . . . the horse does not make the man any more than the coat does."¹

Claudius, on the contrary, compared an ideal religion without a historical basis to a painted horse, which may be admired, but on which nobody can ride. Jacobi further and more ingeniously compared the revelation to the consonants, and the religious perception dwelling in us to the vowels by which the dumb consonants are made to speak. Yet he confesses that they both belong together, and herein Claudius had to unite with him. Jacobi bowed reverently before the warm and enthusiastic description which Claudius, in his great simplicity, made of Christ. "What a picture!" he exclaims. "What elevated and affecting contrasts! What a force of beauty, of grace, and of majesty in the combined characteristics of this perfect ideal of united Deity and humanity!" Jacobi also found, like Claudius, all that he desired of the religious and moral man united in the real historical Christ, who was

¹ *Göttliche Linje*, p. 104.

to him more than an ideal, and by no means a mere invention or myth. But while Claudius insisted upon attaining to God only through Christ, and could only be elevated to God by faith in Christ, Jacobi, on the other hand, held that by this means we would ourselves be soaring aloft with him.

The principal thing to Jacobi was, that which is vital in Christ becomes living in us. The reliance on historical events was regarded by him as superstition; and thus, in relation to positive Christianity, he continually remained in a suspicious position, fearing that the outwardness which was so odious to him lay concealed behind it, and regarding every complete system as somewhat dangerous, that is, an idol which men adore instead of the living God. His view, in this respect, was quite similar to Fichte's, though he was very much opposed to him in his philosophical principles. Jacobi, like Fichte in his later life, felt his whole heart attracted to the inward and profound vital source of Christianity, and for this reason he was decried, in opposition to the cold skeptics, as a canter and an ignoramus; but when he would inclose this fountain, interpret the import of Christian doctrine with the understanding, and comprise what is believed into a reservoir,—that is, a confession, a formula,—his inmost feeling strove against it. By this sympathy with religion, and antipathy to all dogmatics and speculation, his own remarkable confession may be explained: that he is a Christian in heart and a heathen in understanding, and that he floats between two waters that can never be united in him.

The matter of Jacobi's heathenism was not very serious, however. Just that specifically heathen view which is comprised in pantheism as a deification of nature and the world, was the farthest possible remove from him. We would sooner say that he was at heart a Supernaturalist, or even a Pietist, in the good and honorable sense of the word, and a Rationalist in understanding; for, while Jacobi did not agree with the more specific Christian doctrines, his philosophy proved itself essentially Christian, for he formally maintained, against the pantheistic fanaticism of his day, faith in a personal God, who constitutes the groundwork of all revelation, and, with-

out whom everything said about revelation is empty deception and mere quibbles.

We cannot here follow out the extensive philosophical controversy which was chiefly incited by the study of Spinoza, renewed by Lessing, and afterward raised to special importance by Schelling. We will only say a few words on the question in dispute taken as a whole, as it continued to become a vital question of the whole period, and on the decision of which even our own times continue to watch with interest. While I give prominence to the firm maintenance of faith in a personal God, in opposition to the pantheistic tendencies, as the principal service of Jacobi's philosophy and as a characteristic monument of its Christian character, I do not adhere to the word and notion of "personality," and I would willingly employ another term if one could be found which designates with sufficient definiteness a God, self-conscious, distinct from the world, and not coincident with the world. I grant that the expression "personality" easily takes with it the accessory notion of limitation, which we must certainly regard as altogether removed in respect to God. This meaning was adopted by Herder, who adhered to the philosophy of Spinoza, in opposition to Jacobi and also to the expression "personality," because it designates contrast and specialty;¹ and even Lavater granted, that the notion of

¹ In his work "God" (*Werke zur Philosophie und Geschichte*, Vol. VIII. p. 203 f.) he says: "Person (πρόσωπον) used to mean a face, and hence a theatrical character; in this way it led to that peculiarity of a character which distinguishes it from another. Thus the word passed into the language of common life. 'This man,' says one, 'plays his person, or brings his personality into the matter.' Thus, person was placed in opposition to the thing, always designating something contrasting, marking out a peculiarity in it. In this way the word passed into judicial language, into the difference of conditions. Can we apply something of this prosopopœia to God? He is neither a face nor a mask, nor a person of standing, nor a delineated character, who is present with others and plays with them. Let us leave these personal characteristics, which always lead us, if not to something false, assumed, and imputed, at least to some peculiarity in form, shape, and distinction from others,—to position, rank, etc., and consequently removed

a personality of God belongs to the youthful state and perception of humanity.¹ But yet the same Lavater stood here on Jacobi's side, and he expressed the latter's inmost conviction when he wrote: "The most powerful object in me, above me, and outside of me is God, and the personal man must personify." Jacobi (and here he constantly held his ground, amid all the dispute), would know nothing of a God who is not a helper, a God who creates the eye and does not see, who plants the ear and does not hear, who makes the understanding and does not perceive,—knows nothing, wills nothing, and therefore does not exist.²

Pantheism and atheism were the same to Jacobi, for a God who first obtains his existence by the world, and first comes to consciousness in man, is not God, but an idol. Neither would Jacobi concede a merely extramundane and superterrestrial God (as the Deists held), who, separated from the world and humanity, does not seem to trouble himself about the world and mankind; he held to a God who declares himself to man's inward nature, and gives us the witness that we are of divine origin. He did not confine this God in the world, but believed in a God whom we do not have in our eye, but before our eyes; a God whom we do not have to call the Ego, but the Thou; a God to whom we can pray, and who says to himself: "I am that I am." Thus, according to Jacobi, man should know God above as well as in himself, and only by adhering to the one as well as to the other did he hold the living faith in God (theism), as Christianity and the Bible declare him, and as everything which .

from the pure idea of a perfectly incomparable essence and truth. While God does not respect the person, he is just as far from playing a person, or from affecting personalities, or having one personal thinking in strong contrast with others. He *is*. No one is as he is.—But should not the highest intelligence require the word personality, so that the unity of self-consciousness constitutes personality? I do not see this to be the case; but, rather, personality is always a foreign and repainted word," etc. Compare, on this work of Herder, *Schiller's und Körner's Briefwechsel*, Vol. I. p. 143 ff.

¹ Ratjen, *Jah. Fr. Kleuker und Briefe seiner Freunde*, p. 85.

² *Göttliche Dinge*, p. 185.

is religion in heaven and on earth requires and presupposes him with an eternal necessity.

Thus much on Jacobi as a Christian thinker. We would not here revive the personal controversy between him and Schelling, which was conducted by the latter with great bitterness;¹ but would only call to mind how that which was then the subject of conflict with these two men, is disputed in the schools down to our day, though under another name; Hegel building upon Schelling;² Fries, and many other independent thinkers with him, building in part on Kant and in part on Jacobi; and yet every one going his own path, and partially opposing his predecessors.³ I regard it as highly significant that Schleiermacher, who gave rise to the new movement in theology, should appropriate the essential excellencies of both Schelling and Jacobi, yet not by an eclectic caprice, but by inward and personal reproduction. But before we speak of him, we will leave the thorny speculative field where you have been too long delayed, and, in the next lecture, will lead you to the free and pleasant territory of art, for we hope to show how the real fundamental ideas of the natural philosophy have marked out a path in life, in part through Goethe and in part through the adherents of the so-called Romantic School.

¹ In *Denkmal der Schrift von den göttlichen Dingen*. Tübingen, 1812.

² We only speak here of Schelling in his earlier period. It is well known that he afterward made an important change in favor of faith, yet without arriving at a satisfactory completion of his system. The judgment of the Greek priest Golubinski was: "He sailed from one bank, but never landed on the other." (In Harthausen's *Studien über Russland*. 1847. Vol. I. p. 83).—Yet he has since landed where we all hope some day to land.

³ Comp., e. g., Fries, *Von deutscher Philosophie, Art und Kunst*. Heidelberg, 1812.

LECTURE XIII

CORRESPONDING TENDENCIES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF BELLES-LETTRES.—JEAN PAUL AND HEBEL.—RELATION OF JACOBI'S POETRY TO HIS PHILOSOPHY OF FEELING.—GOETHE AND THE ROMANTICISTS IN CONNECTION WITH SCHELLING.—COMPARISON BETWEEN SCHILLER AND GOETHE IN RELATION TO THEIR POSITION TOWARD CHRISTIANITY.—GOETHE'S INFLUENCE ON THE MOST RECENT PERIOD.

As the Kantian philosophy found its poetical expression in Schiller, so do we see that Schelling's natural philosophy, which we considered in the last lecture, has its poetical representatives in the most recent literature; and these are all the more numerous because this philosophy is naturally half poetry, and rises on the wings of imagination above the realm of the common understanding. The Kantian philosophy had been thoroughly prosaic, and Schiller's poetry had planted itself only at its side as an outward supplement. What the critical understanding had broken to pieces should now be restored by poetry, yet without the reason for this procedure appearing at all justified by science; it was rather a certain instinct which impelled to this restoration, as nature in general, and accordingly that of man, knows how to restore everything to equilibrium.

But the case was quite different with Schelling's natural philosophy. From the very outset it proceeded in most intimate union with poetry. It awakened the slumbering poetic feeling in many a youthful breast; it was really the root of a new poetic school, which derived its strength and nourish-

ment from it. That poetical view of things which must underlie all merely technical skill where a real work of art should be created, has been awakened by this philosophy; by it, art has been fully released from the bondage of rules in which it had been fettered by the imitation of foreign art; and, above all, Goethe stands here as the master of a new poetic school, as the prince of poets, as they call him, as the king of a new intellectual kingdom, with which even the enchanted gardens of Romanticism are partially connected. But before we consider the connection of Schelling's natural philosophy and Goethe on the one hand, and the Romanticists on the other, let us ask whether Jacobi's philosophy, which we became acquainted with as the antithesis of Schelling's, presents any poetical affinities, and whether the assertion of the religious feeling in philosophy did not also find its corresponding subject in poetry?

We can answer in the affirmative. I need not remind you that the philosopher F. H. Jacobi also traveled the realm of poetry,¹ for in his *Woldemar* he made a contribution to the literature of didactic romance; and I would only say in passing that his brother, John George Jacobi, occupies an honorable position among the pleasant poets of his day.² But, to mention an important name just now, we may confidently say that Jean Paul presents the poetical counterpart to Jacobi the philosopher. Not only was Jean Paul Frederick Richter outwardly friendly with Jacobi the philosopher,³ and with Herder, but he publicly professed the Christianity of these

¹ Goethe says of Jacobi, that there was something of both the poet and philosopher wanting in him, which prevented him from being both. *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. I. p. 343.

² Gervinus charges him with *sweetishness*. Perhaps so, but such poems as "Ash-Wednesday," "Mother's Love and Mother's Fidelity," "Confidence," and many others, will ever be valuable, just as the paintings of Carlo Dolce, with whom Gervinus himself compares Jacobi's poems. Yet it will always be regretted that his fine poetic talent was so long controlled by his sensuously revelling anacreontics, against which "the pastors" (Herder among the number) contended not altogether without cause. Gervinus, Vol. IV. pp. 259—262.

³ *Briefwechsel von Jean Paul und Voss*, p. 99.

men, which he called a cheerful Christianity, in opposition to all mystical obscurity and bigoted gloom.¹ In his *Greenland Lawsuits* he persecuted the prevailing orthodoxy with a decided mixture of satire. But he knew and desired a different and better illuminism than that of the Universal German Library; he would have a pious illuminism and an illuminated piety, and he found both in Jacobi. He unites with him positively as well as negatively, in what he asserts as well as in what he rejects. With Jacobi, he adheres to faith in a personal God and in personal immortality, and has expressed the hope of the latter in a peculiar way in his *Campanerthal*.² But with him he also discards the "narrowness of the theological views and prospects," as he calls them, which would confine the life of our anticipation to a Jewish-Christian doctrine. Jean Paul will also have a revelation, but not one that is historically complete, terminated for all time, but a continual revelation of God to our spirit. Like Jacobi, he speaks with the deepest reverence of Christ, "the purest among the mighty, and the mightiest among the pure, who raised a world from its axis by his pierced hand;" but he can no more adopt the ecclesiastical view of Christ than could the philosopher of Pempelfort. He, too, would rather soar with Christ to God than come to God through Christ. The ecclesiastical doctrine of the atonement repels him, while, on the other hand, Herder's view of the Son of man, who represents pure humanity in its highest transformation, pleases him best.

In none of Jean Paul's writings does he scoff at religion;

¹ See the Letter to his Son, in Gelzer, p. 365.

² "As Jacobi, Lavater, and Jung-Stilling would have a personal God in human form [Who says that the human form is brought in by interpretation?], so did he seem to need an individual duration, although in his *Campanerthal* he could not give much comfort to those who desire a personal existence." Gervinus, Vol. V. p. 245 f. The believing Christian can certainly find other foundation for his faith in immortality than those furnished in Jean Paul's poetry; but all of us who have not yet been brought to the resignation of annihilation, can unite with him in his great hope that the kingdom of the True, the Beautiful and the Good does not terminate with this world.

on the contrary, he shudders at such a degeneration of man. But he has occasionally given a humorous turn to the ecclesiastical statements of doctrine, in order to prove plainly to the conscience the insufficiency of all intellectual definitions in religion.¹ Jean Paul's faith, according to his own language, does not rest upon isolated proofs, as on stakes or feet, that need only to be broken off in order that it may tumble down; but it is rooted by a thousand invisible fibers into the broad soil of feeling. Therefore he says, that one may "silence, yet not convince him; feeling outlives understanding, just as pain lasts longer than consolatory arguments."² While the old dogmatics of the church appeared to him irreconcilable with the recent progressive education, he lamented, on the other hand, with a pain equal to that of Jacobi, the decline and fall of religion; the times made him sad, and he knew no other relief than *true* education. But according to him, neither the temporal nor spiritual arm, neither the state nor the church, but science and poetry, are called to restore religion. "The muses alone can convert the great," and the writings of the classics are to him "an eternal Biblical Institute." Jean Paul did not penetrate the inward nature of Christianity, by which alone it can be understood, but he appropriated its blessings to his own spirit; and yet, if these blessings consist chiefly in the inward man and his inner world having their real claims satisfied, Jean Paul is more controlled than many others by the Christian view of things; and we might say that, without an antecedent Christianity, his poetry would have been as impossible as Jacobi's philosophy. The hard crust that had settled on historical Christianity by the formulas of orthodoxy, made it impossible for both men to arrive at an impartial historical view, while they were not only affected by the spirit of Christianity, but were in part pervaded by it.

We do not hesitate to place our Alemannic poet Hebel beside Jean Paul. In him, too, we can perceive that everything which is grasped immediately with the feeling bears in

¹ In the *Grönländische Prozesse*, and the 10th chapter of the *Siebenkäs*.

² Compare Gelzer, p. 376.

itself a higher and heavenly consecration, —that of the purest simplicity and innocence, such as only Christianity can bestow. The God whom he finds everywhere in nature, who sends his angels to the flowers, and who rises with the early dawn above the mountain top,¹ is no other than the living God of the Bible, the God of Job and of the Psalms, and the Father of Jesus Christ, who clothes the lilies of the field and feeds the birds of the air; he is not the World-Soul, floating in the world and only coming gradually to consciousness. So before this poet does there bloom, even on the grave, the hope of personal duration; it is the same hope which, treated with exceeding beauty and simplicity, and thoroughly based on Scriptural views, yet with a free poetic sense, is expressed in his Transitoriness.² Christian morals and Christian life are presented to us also in the Alemannic poems in pleasant simplicity and captivating naturalness. We need call to remembrance only The Mother on Christmas Eve, and Early Sunday Morning; and in his Morning Star "a Christian heart and Christian courage are prayed for." The blessing asked at the table, the ringing of the prayer-bell, the walking of the congregation to the Lord's house, and the Christian ceremonies at baptism, marriage and death, find their place,

¹ He thus says, in his "Market-women in the City":

"Our Father, God, I think, will have it so,
As in his Christianity is shown."

² Hebel here unites with Jean Paul in designating the stars as the future dwelling place of the blessed. This is somewhat characteristic of the character of the faith of both men and of their times. Such a view is certainly not unscriptural (John xiv. 2); but is unquestionably devoid of positive Scriptural support. In other poems, as "On a Grave" and "The Watchman at Midnight," the poet stands fully on Scriptural and popular eschatology, which we understand better by him than by all the exegetical and doctrinal explanations. Among other expressions, how beautiful and tender is this, from his poem on "Winter":

"Securely housed from Winter's cold,
Are Summer birds of feather gay;
Without a pang or a lament,
They're waiting for their Easter-day."

and are arranged as precious relics in the shining monstrance, in which we are led to behold the ever-present God.

And yet Hebel was not thoroughly Christian in the orthodox sense of the word. Christianity, in its more definite and positive form, stands in the background in his case as well as in Jean Paul; indeed, in the theological works which Hebel subsequently published, when prelate in Carlsruhe, and even in his sermons, there often crops out the rationalistic thinking to which his theological education belonged.¹ Hebel never arrived at a clear and safe knowledge of what the Protestant church desires to be and should be, in its relation to the times, and what it can become by a vital theology; yet we may say that the yearning feeling of the poet Hebel more deeply penetrated the essence of Christianity and the necessities of the human heart than the Ecclesiastical Councillor Hebel, with all his theological perception of the necessities of Protestant theology and the church. Even his Biblical Narratives have not satisfied to the degree that might be expected from the hearty poet. I do not know how far he adopted Jacobi's philosophy as his own, but, like Jean Paul, he belongs to the department of that philosophy, so far as we can prove in him the dissension which we have found in Jacobi, and which the latter confessed of himself (while others bore it in their own breast unconsciously),—the dissension between the pious feeling in sympathy with Christianity and an understanding taking offence at the doctrinal form (therefore affiliating with the recent illuminism), and consequently standing on friendly terms with the advanced education.

But we do not here see any important evil. There is not so much a dissension as an accommodation of the fruitful personality of those men, and of the purity of their character. The discord between the courageous feeling of the heart and the critically timid understanding, as more or less established in human nature, frequently expresses itself in such language as we might call humorous, and is very becoming in Jean Paul and Hebel. Yet the effect of this humor rests upon the

¹ He so far ignored the fundamental Protestant doctrine as to call Augustine a heretic and Pelagius a saint (in the *Liturgische Beiträge*).

apprehension that the strength of our understanding is not sufficient to grasp properly the infinite; and therefore the inducement is at hand to confide in the understanding to speak of divine things in a simple way, and to group the most elevated things with those which otherwise belong to the lower sphere of life. Naïveté, which is nearly allied to humor, or, rather, is its natural presupposition, has therefore been at all times the best counterpoise to what is proudly propped up, stiff, and pedantic—to all consequentialness of an erroneous orthodoxy, false illuminism, and an exaggerating and misleading speculation.¹ Luther is here again in advance, and in this respect Jean Paul and Hebel stand with Claudius, except that the latter, like Luther, adheres more firmly to positive Christianity, while the former were contented with the more general religious feeling. But as in Claudius we are willingly led by his feeling nature to forget the somewhat stiff Lutheran orthodoxy of the later day, so do we also forget in Jean Paul and Hebel their negative, intellectual statement of doctrine by the positive doctrinal confession of their heart.

Thus there was exhibited in the philosophy of Frederick Henry Jacobi, and in the spirited, humorous, and naïve style of poetry just described, a kind of religious tendency, that liberated the doctrinal confession as much as possible, but at the same time strove to preserve the impressions of religion in a good and refined heart, and to represent them in noble sentiment. This tendency naturally acquired many adherents, especially among the cultivated, who were as little at home in the old dogmas as in the new speculation; but who were not satisfied with either a cold and merely negative skepticism or a dry system of morals. They became more and more grouped into an invisible church, into whose upper regions the fresh draught of the understanding had free circulation, but without cooling the temperature which the heart needed in its most immediate surroundings. Feeling was the

¹ We might say that humor is the naïveté of the spirit pervaded by the reflexion of the understanding. Naïveté passes over into humor where education has supplanted, or rather ennobled it.

broad ground where those could join hands who had no room beside each other on the sharp line of the understanding. Here Claudius and Jacobi, Lavater and Jean Paul, came together. No wonder that, as "humanity and illuminism" had been watchwords of the day, "feeling and tenderness" should now be watchwords of the times.

Tenderness is distinguished from what we have earlier called sentimentality by greater directness, and by its returning truly to the inmost root of our sensations, the feeling, and thus springing forth again from this root; while sentimentality (sensibility) was often only an artificial production of the understanding, or of the imagination excited by the understanding. Tenderness appeared as a fresh and healthy child of nature, while sentimentality often betrayed a morbid, vain, and spoiled character. Yet we must not here draw the bounds too sharply. Tenderness,—and here lay its danger,—could degenerate into effeminacy, as is undoubtedly the case in Jean Paul; and it was easy for obscurity of the understanding, as a want of moral energy, to conceal itself behind the lauded depth and inwardness of feeling. Stronger and more manly natures were by this means repelled, and counter effects on the side of a tendency of the intellect and of the will were not wanting. But the times were brought more and more to know that the question could not be settled by this dismemberment and dispersion. It was now said that the spirit is the highest thing, and not the feeling or the understanding; and while the speculative philosophy overtaxed itself in representing the philosophy of the spirit on the principles of the natural philosophy, Goethe, a man whom many call the prophet of the spirit of the later age, went ahead in the department of art. This remark leads us to consider him more closely.

Though our preliminary remarks make Goethe's relation to Schelling similar to that in which Schiller stood to Kant, we do not mean thereby that Goethe was as dependent on Schelling's system as Schiller was for a time on Kant's. Goethe was too free, peculiar, great and superior, in short, too very intellectual, ever to become the imitator of a system.

As for his philosophical sympathies, he appeared at first desirous of forming a hearty relation with Jacobi, who, after his first interview with Goethe in Cologne, flattered himself that he had found in him the man he needed, and hoped that a truly intimate and eternal relation would bind them together.¹ They stood on the most friendly footing with each other, although their natures were very different; but a disagreement afterward took place. Jacobi dedicated to Goethe his *Woldemar*, with the most hearty and earnest assurances of friendship, though the latter had already cooled toward him; and just what was the great essential in Jacobi, — a conscientious return within himself, a listening to himself, the observation of his own spiritual and sensuous life, — was repugnant to Goethe.² "The disposition to watch the spirit passing through its own operations seemed to him," says Gervinus, "a disease, even in his extreme old age; he commended his own wisdom in never thinking or having thought *on* thinking *in order to* think; this was to him dissipation of the mind, a result of ennui and unprofitable company. The stiff boots of logic and the grey finger of metaphysics, and, indeed, everything not connected with the green tree of life, were repulsive to him, and he confessed frequently and with pleasure that he did not discover in himself the

¹ See Gervinus, Vol. IV. p. 536.

² A good statement of Goethe's relation to Jacobi is given in the *Gespräche mit Eckermann* (p. 242 f.), but especially in the subsequently published *Briefwechsel* already cited. Goethe had declared that the difference between the two consisted in Jacobi's being a Christian and his (Goethe) being a heathen; in reply to which, Jacobi reminds his old friend that his truly "Julian hatred" of Christianity, and of all the prominent Christians whom he brought with him to Pempelfort in 1792, had there moderated, so that, finally, there was little wanting to prevent his saying with the chamberlain in the Acts of the Apostles: "What doth hinder me to be baptized?" "You confess that a certain Christianity is the climax of benevolence; and as I preferred your heathendom to that kind of Christianity hated by you, which I also do not like, so did you, on the other hand, prefer to your own heathendom a form which you called my Christianity, yet without being able to appropriate it." (Jacobi's Letter to Goethe, 1815). See *Briefw.*, p. 273.

slightest relation to philosophy in its strict sense.¹ He was as zealous in warning against self-knowledge as he had been in cautioning against a knowledge of others. He held that the 'Know Thyself' contains a contradiction, and that he who looks into his own breast 'is just as badly off in his skin as he who watches his own brains.'"²

But he not only disliked this philosophy established on self-knowledge, as represented in Jacobi, but also that system which made the world its object instead of our own Ego, so long as that system moves with the stiffness over which Mephistopheles in Faust makes himself merry. "He detested all who made a world of their own out of error, and foolishly bothered themselves with speculations; well knowing how opinions continually change with a life that ever keeps young, he laughed at the schools," etc.³ But with all Goethe's studiously shunning (because of his sound taste) the ambiguous and quaint form that called to mind the old scholasticism, his view of life was nevertheless most intimately connected with it as exhibited in Schelling's system. He even confessed that he belonged to the school of identity, and was born to it.⁴ He also looked upon life as it exhibits itself, as *one*; spirit and sensation, God and nature, the world within and the world without, and form and matter, were to him one and the same. His study of nature, in which he engaged particularly in his later life, was sustained and directed by this idea; he thought that his doctrine of color would supplant the mechanical notion of light; by morphology (the doctrine of metamorphoses), so called by him, he sought to introduce into science the view of nature as a living, organic essence; and as for God's relation to the world, the intramundane God was of more importance to Goethe than the supermundane.

¹ Comp. *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. II. p. 55: "I have always avoided philosophy; the standpoint of the sound human understanding was also mine."

² Vol. V. p. 122. Comp. *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, pp. 132, 133.

³ Gervinus, Vol. V. p. 122. Comp. *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. III. pp. 123, 124. Comp. p. 222.

⁴ *Briefwechsel mit Zelter*, Vol. II. p. 65.

"What were a God who only lets the universe,
 As it revolves, but barely touch his finger-end?
 God sees it far the best to move the world within,
 Nature in Him, and Him in nature to comprise;
 And thus, whate'er in Him that lives, and moves, and is,
 Ne'er feels the absence of his Spirit or His strength."

Goethe's moral view is also connected with this idea. The moral world is to him an active play of the most varied forces; all conflict with sin is only necessary development, a requisite point of transition. To him, all contraries are solved and no more exist, and the maxim which we may regard as the shibboleth of the new philosophy, that "whatever is, is right," is fully expressed in Goethe's *Doing and Suffering*. Schiller strives to attain to the ideal of virtue as something absent, lying far beyond us; he designates "what never and nowhere has come to pass" as that which can eternally satisfy the human soul, and looks longingly to other conditions, now back into the Grecian world, and now forward into better times,—which latter Fichte, too, desired so much to see. But Goethe makes himself perfectly at home in the present; his ease in speaking and writing is natural and innate; no political or religious life, or quarrel of the schools, or anything else, ever disturbs him; elevated above all conflict, he reposes in the lofty repose of the gods. Hence the celebrated objectivity, transparency, finish, inward harmony and outward completeness of his masterpieces, all of which bear the stamp of perfect, and not of affected or imitated naturalness, of a nature as though newly created, and born of the mind, so that if a worship of genius were admissible, there would certainly be a temptation to worship in Goethe a personification of the creative principle. The present life, which commends to us the new philosophy, and is just in the most recent time gaining more panegyrists who renounce a future life, has its herald in Goethe. "Let us not console each other by holding out the future life," he wrote in 1775 to the Countess Juliana von Stolberg, "and let us still be happy here!"¹

¹ Yet in the *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, and elsewhere, he speaks the reverse.

While the period since the Reformation had assigned the first place to the knowledge of God and the prospect of a future world, and all temporal matters undertaken were linked in some way to heaven, and while this supremacy of the divine contemplation of affairs became even an extreme, so that men regarded this world as a vale of tears, and had more taste for abstract doctrinal controversies than for what enables us to lead a proper life on earth, the new period was distinguished by just the opposite mode of thinking, by which the knowledge of the world was made preëminent, and all effort was directed to becoming so beautifully and comfortably settled here as even to forget heaven. And we know no poet who more fully expressed this disposition than Goethe. It is perfectly from this worldly feeling that he sings:

"How sweet indeed it is,
On this dear earth to stay!
Therefore I make a vow,
Ne'er to be torn away!"

We should misconceive such poems of Goethe, and others that he composed with similar ease, if we regarded them as the bald expression of a rough and common worldliness, directed only to the senses. Every one who understands pleasantry will see the meaning concealed beneath the words of such apothegms and songs. It is said that they express the triumph of genius over all morose prejudice, and the released mind's easy and free disregard of the pressure of the outward world and its narrow relations; besides, these poems are highly poetical, in spite of all their apparent trivialness. Goethe's poetic sentiment asserts itself in finding grandeur in the smallest things, the whole and the universal in the special and individual, and the most important in the apparently insignificant: and, indeed, everything that he touches with his magic wand he knows how to transform into a poetic being, and one, too, of his own kind. And, in fact, there is far more real poetry in the receding wave and in the bird flying above us,—an image of eternity, a wonderful relation of natural life to our spiritual life,—than if one

would first have to station a heavenly ladder, and climb from star to star, in order to seize a divine idea.

In this respect Schiller is quite different from Goethe. We behold effort in the former; he sparkles, and glows, and is out of breath, after having pursued the heavenly goddess, who flees ever from him; but in Goethe everything comes of itself, and every respiration is a complete poem. But Goethe's view of the world, in spite of all its highly poetic value, is seductive if we make it the groundwork of morals and religion, or seek the true and permanent reconciliation of heaven and earth in the "worldly gospel of poetry," or hope with him that "inward cheerfulness and outward ease shall deliver us from our earthly burdens." To such happy natures as Goethe's was, this view of the world may be very satisfactory; but the unhappy man can no more find rest in it than he who is pained by the misfortune and misery of others. The beautiful marble creation of art may give us exquisite pleasure so long as we look at it from the sculptor's scaffolding, but how soon do we shudder at its intolerable coldness when we grasp it, in hope of feeling on its breast the throbs of a sympathetic heart! No one can better establish us in this conviction than Goethe himself, when he sings:

"God pointed out
A path for every man;
Swiftly the fortunate
Fulfill His blissful plan.
But when misfortunes sore
A human heart o'ertake,
No effort can avail
Their brazen thread to break.
Only death that thread can sever,
And, once done, 'tis done for ever.

Fortune's bright chariot
'Tis easy to follow;
And then with great comfort,
The glad heart doth o'erflow,
That the best place to gain
Is in the princely train.

But who heals *his* pain,
 Whose sweetest balm was bane?
 Who drank for *him* the draft
 Who aimed the deadly shaft?
 The chain is broken now,
 And on the cheek no glow;
 His secret life is passed
 In worshipping the waste
 Which he must call himself."

We must leave to others the task of drawing a parallel between Schiller and Goethe in respect to poetry.¹ But we are obliged to compare the two heroes of German literature in relation to their position to Christianity. Opinions differ very widely in this respect, too. While there are people who bluntly reject both poets as unchristian, Goethe, quite remarkably, has found more favor than Schiller in the eyes of those who are accustomed to take a strict view of Christianity, while the reverse is but seldom the case. It depends on what we make the standard of Christianity,—whether it is knowledge, the will, or inclination. Goethe stands unquestionably higher in Christian knowledge than Schiller, in so far as he exhibits a more comprehensive spirit, and less clouded by scholastic prejudices. For example, he could do far more justice than the often passionately excited Schiller to sacred history and Christian doctrines. How else could the man in whose hands everything acquired a living form, take the universal historical phenomenon of Christianity into this formative process, and work it up into his great world-image?² What an abundance of profound Christian views is presented in *Faust*! What a sense for the finest shades of Christian life in the *Confessions of a Beautiful Soul*! To him,

¹ It is well known that at first they were repulsive to each other, but were subsequently united in the most intimate friendship. Goethe appears grand in his relation to Schiller. Schiller had to be handled by him like an egg out of its shell. Compare Schiller's expressions in his *Briefwechsel mit Körner*, Vol. II. p. 53.

² I will not here record all the passages from Goethe in favor of Christianity. Comp. Gelzer, p. 290, and the collection entitled *Goethe's Philosophie*, by Schütz, Vol. III. (Section on Religion).

even the Moravian conception of Christianity is right in its place, as is proved by his intercourse with the witty Miss Von Klettenberg. What healthy and correct opinions on the great worth of the Bible and its educational importance stand before us in his Autobiography, in part also in his scattered remarks on the Doctrine of Colors, and especially in his Conversations with Eckermann! To present an example, can stronger language be uttered against scoffers at the Bible than that by Goethe: "The higher the centuries advance in knowledge, the more can the Bible be used in part as the foundation and in part as the instrument of education, though not by imprudent, but by truly wise men?"¹ And there are many similar expressions to this. Indeed, we are sure that recent Christian apologetics can adduce from Goethe's writings far more proofs than from Schiller, in whom heresy is discernible almost everywhere.

Goethe likewise showed himself practical in the practical department, where the question is an understanding of existing relations, while Schiller often proved himself impractical. While, for example, Schiller imagined that the world could be improved by the theater, and recommended the stage as a moral institution, as though a second church, and while, as we have already seen, after such assertions many clergymen of Schiller's period really introduced poetical phrases and theatrical declamation into the pulpit, Goethe censured this nonsense in the most masterly manner in his *Faust*. Wagner says to Faust:

"I've heard it said,
An actor might give lessons to a priest."

Faust answers:

"Yes! when your priest's an actor, as may happen."

And then continues:

"If feeling does not prompt, in vain you strive;
If from the soul the language does not come,
By its own impulse, to impel the hearts
Of hearers, with communicated power,

¹ *Aus meinem Leben*, Vol. I. Book 4.

In vain you strive—in vain you study earnestly.
 Toil on for ever; piece together fragments;
 Cook up your broken scraps of sentences,
 And blow, with puffing breath, a struggling light,
 Glimmering confusedly now, now cold in ashes;
 Startle the school-boys with your metaphors;
 And, if such food may suit your appetite,
 Win the vain wonder of applauding children!
 But never hope to stir the hearts of men,
 And mould the souls of many into one,
 By words which come not native from the heart!"

Wagner now replies:

"EXPRESSION, graceful utterance, is the first
 And best acquirement of the orator.
 This do I feel, and feel my want of it!"

To this, Faust rejoins:

"Be honest, if you would be eloquent;
 Be not a chiming fool with cap and bells;
 Reason and genuine feeling want no arts
 Of utterance—ask no toil of elocution;
 And when you are in earnest, do you need
 A search for words? Oh! these fine holyday phrases,
 In which you robe your worn-out commonplaces;
 These scraps of paper which you crimp and curl
 And twist into a thousand idle shapes,
 These filigree ornaments are good for nothing,
 Cost time and pains, please few, impose on no one;
 Are unrefreshing, as the wind that whistles,
 In Autumn, 'mong the dry and wrinkled leaves."

In these few words Goethe has comprised more homiletical wisdom than can be found in many an elaborate theory of pulpit eloquence. He likewise exhibits a reliable discernment in matters relating to public service. He himself had the correct feeling that, of all his many poems, not one would be in place in a Lutheran hymn-book.¹ Every confusion of the profane and sacred was repulsive to his sound taste. "A music," he says among other things (in Wilhelm Meister's Pilgrimage), "which mixes sacred and profane character is

¹ *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. I. p. 282.

ungodly, and a half-shorn music, which takes pleasure in expressing weak, miserable, and pitiable inventions; it is insipid, for it is not serious enough to be sacred, while cheerfulness, the prime character of the opposite, is wanting in it." How tender and delicate, and quite from a Christian view of life, is the remark in his *Elective Affinities*, that the celebration of a wedding should always be strictly serious, and that therefore stillness is far more becoming on such occasions than noisy show.¹

We repeat it, therefore, that wherever the question depends on a correct understanding of Christian matters, we find in Goethe spiritual glimpses that we fail to see in Schiller in equal definiteness. But if understanding is not the only standard of Christianity, but rather the heart's acquiescence and appropriation, we might almost believe (without thereby doing injustice to Goethe) that Schiller experienced at times deeper Christian emotions than Goethe. You remember those *Morning Thoughts* of Schiller,—that struggling for truth, and for certainty in religious matters. We meet with no such conflicts in Goethe's life. When still a boy, he doubted many things in the Bible,² and desired information on them from his religious teacher; but, as he himself says, he was more concerned to bring forward his doubt than to have it solved; and his religious instructor knew no other way to get out of the difficulty than by exclaiming, with a convulsive laugh: "Foolish fellow!" "Foolish lad!" And with this the matter rested. Goethe, in his subsequent youth, undoubtedly experienced much disturbance in his inward life, and it cost him a powerful struggle to place himself in that quiet, commanding relation to the world which he maintained in his riper years. Yet the conflict was not religious, but the struggle of genius impetuously striving against the ordained relations of the natural and moral world, and comparable to a titanic assault, which gains heaven by its own divine strength.

¹ Schiller, on the contrary, speaks very frivolously of his own marriage; he calls it "a very amusing scene." Comp. *Briefw. mit Körner*, Vol. II. p. 171.

² *Aus meinem Leben*, 4th Book. (*Werke*, Vol. XXIV. p. 203.)

But Goethe soon reached the bank after the "nocturnal storm." He boasts of himself that, though thoroughly drenched, he dried himself, and the next morning, when the glorious sun again beamed down upon the resplendent waves, the sea was once more hungry for figs.¹

Neither Schiller's nor Goethe's life was free from moral errors; but Goethe passed them over more easily, and Schiller's moral struggle was unquestionably more earnest than Goethe's.² Goethe would never be a saint of any kind, but he was just as far from being wicked and impious. Piety, according to his own words, was not to him the purpose of life, but rather a means of reaching the highest culture through the most perfect rest of the mind.³ Goethe's great fundamental principle was to preserve moderation in all things, as in art so also in morals and religion. And this explains his hostile position toward immoderate illuminism, which appeared to him as immoderate piety, as religious extravagance. It is significant that Goethe, when a young man, was friendly to Stilling and Lavater, and defended their cause against the illuminists. No one jeered better and more acutely than he at the insipidity of the illuminists, such as Bahrdt, with his Translation of the Bible, Nicolai, with his hasty criticism, Basedow, with his visionary projects and intricate neology. But it was rather insipidity than ungodliness which Goethe opposed in these men, and he never liked to enter upon a thorough discussion of religious subjects. In a circle of pious friends he was always frolicsome and relaxed; and after Lavater and Basedow had quarrelled themselves tired on theological subjects, he sang in his own peculiar way:

"Prophets right, prophets left,
The world-child in the middle!"

¹ An allusion to a Grecian proverb. See *Briefwechsel mit Körner*. (*Werke*, Vol. II. p. 44.)

² Schiller blames Goethe for being destitute of heartiness enough to profess anything. "His philosophy derives too much from the sensuous world, while I draw from the soul. His mode of view is too sensuous and tangible for me." *Briefw. mit Körner*, Vol. II. p. 207.

³ *Wilhelm Meister's Wanderjahre*. (*Werke*, Vol. XXIII. p. 256.)

It is impossible to state in better language his position between the conflicting theological parties. Therefore it must not excite our surprise if the same Goethe who censured the illuminists, should use strong language against such Christianity as Lavater exemplified; for the religious difference between him and Lavater, and the impossibility of uniting their points of view, subsequently became constantly clearer. "In my father's drug-store," Goethe wrote to Lavater, in October, 1782, "there are many prescriptions; my plaster has no effect on you, and yours has none on me."¹ Three years previously he had proposed to his friend, "not to bother each other about their private religions."² In the same letter he confessed the truth of the five senses, and in another place he pities Lavater on account of the latter's constant conflict and effort. "Your thirst for Christ," he says, "has grieved me; you are worse off than we heathen, for our gods do appear to us when we need them."³

In another letter Goethe frankly said, that he was not unchristian, nor antichristian, but a non-christian, and this word better describes his position toward Christianity than we can do it.⁴ He regarded it a foolish procedure to violently assail it with the fanaticism of Voltaire, for he had a more profound view of history than that infidel; but he thought it very narrow to confine one's self to Christianity, and to find everything in it. He liked to see Christianity in natures specially organized for it; and it was even interesting to him so long as it served as a subject of observation, just as a

¹ See *Briefe von Göthe und Lavater*, published by H. Hirzel. Leipzig, 1833. p. 152.

² Idem, p. 45.

³ In a letter dated the 8th of January, 1777, in Hegner's *Beiträge zur nähern Kenntniss Lavater's*. Leipzig, 1836. p. 91.

⁴ Dated July, 1782, in Hegner, p. 147.—Comp. also his subsequent declaration to Fr. H. Jacobi, in 1813. "As a poet and artist, I am a polytheist, but as a student of natural science, on the contrary, I am a pantheist; and I am one just as decidedly as the other. If, as a moral man, I need a God for my personality, that is already cared for. Heavenly and earthly things are such a wide realm, that only the organs of all beings taken together can conceive it." *Briefw.*, p. 261.

portrait painter is absorbed in intently watching the original who sits before him; and Goethe regarded himself as simply the observer of Christianity. In his *Werther* he allows that character to say: "I honor religion; I feel that it is a staff to many a weary one, and refreshment to many a languishing one. But *can* and *must* it be this to everybody? If you look at the great world, you will see thousands to whom it was not and will not be a support, . . . and must it be one to *me*? Does not the Son of God himself say that only they are to be his whom the Father has given to him? Now, am I given to him? How does my heart tell me that the Father will reserve me to him?" He also thus writes to Lavater: "It elevates the soul, and gives occasion for the most pleasant reflections, when one sees you holding the grand crystal vessel with the most intense glow of soul; filling it until it flows over with your own deep-red potion, and again quaffing with ecstasy the foam flowing down from the top. I grant you the pleasure of enjoying everything in one individual; and, notwithstanding the impossibility of one individual to satisfy you, it is glorious that an image is left us from the ancient times to which you can transfer all you have, and in which you can reflect and adore yourself. But I can call it nothing less than unfairness and robbery for you to gather up all the precious feathers of the many-colored birds under the heavens, as if they were usurped, with which to ornament your own bird of paradise exclusively; this must necessarily be intolerable and disgusting to us who resign ourselves as the disciples of every wisdom revealed *through* man and *to* man, and who, as sons of God, worship him in ourselves and in all his children."¹

¹ Dated June, 1781, in Hegner, p. 141.—Comp. with this the letter of August 9, 1782, p. 147 f. "You regard the Gospel, as it stands, as the most divine truth; a voice from heaven would not convince me that water burns, that fire quenches, that a woman brings forth without a man, and that a dead one is raised. On the contrary, I regard this as blasphemy against God and his revelations in nature. . . . You find nothing more beautiful than the Gospel, but I find a thousand written leaves of former and recent men, who have been favored by God, just as beautiful, useful and indispensable."

In these words Goethe expressed the same thing which Strauss has since uttered, that nature is not accustomed to pour out its whole plenitude in one individual. Christ was to him, therefore, a welcome picture from early times, to which every one might unite his human ideal, and in which every one might again perceive his better Ego; but he was not to Goethe the only one in whom the Spirit infinitely dwelt. And thus we find that Goethe's general view and the recent speculative philosophy meet in this point, for we have observed the same thing in Fichte and Schelling.

The different periods of youth, middle age and extreme old age, have been distinguished in Goethe's literary life, the first and last being designated as those in which the poet's heart was more accessible to religious impressions than in the middle period; hence we should not be surprised to meet with many contradictions in his life. Yet I believe that enough of them can be found in each of these periods.¹ He says somewhere:

"The world is full of contradictions,
Why then may not a book be too?"

We would therefore be as far from proving as accommodating these contradictions; our chief business is with the impression which Goethe's appearance made upon his times. It is remarkable that, although he was born before Schiller, Goethe's real supremacy over the mind is later, and his reign over the intellectual kingdom had to be preceded by that of Schiller, just as the critical philosophy preceded the natural philosophy, and Rationalism preceded pantheism. We can very well observe, in the course of German literature in the last decades, how the enthusiasm for Schiller, as it pervaded young minds some forty years ago, and as, for example, it assumed a new flight in Theodore Körner, gradually cooled off, and was supplanted more and more by the remarkable Goethean thinking, which easily made itself at home in life. Or has not that indefinite and unsatisfactory enthusiasm in an imaginary and ideal world, which fondly concealed itself

¹ Gelzer, p. 255.

in the starry cloak of Schiller's poetry, gradually given way to an easy state of mind, which wore the elegant, shining ermine of inward self-complacency instead of the starry mantle, until this state of mind was in turn finally supplanted by that of satiety (inflation), of falling out with God and the world, which defiantly meets the storm in its torn beggar's garment as if it were a royal robe, though vanity looks out through every one of its holes?

This is the course taken by the so-called "worship of genius": first overstraining, then relaxation, and finally the great "world-pain", of which every street-boy now knows how to sing. And as the excessive worship of human greatness, when it does not meet with moderation and firmer support in the adoration of the only true God, always bears in itself the germ of corruption, so was it in the present case. The aspiration for a visionary ideal, and the notion that we have already acquired what we do not yet really possess, are of equal danger; yet it is well to take heed lest the last delusion be worse than the first.

Where there have been aspiration and conflict, there has at least always been a point of connection for the messenger of salvation, and a Paul can grow out of the Saul zealously striving for his ideal. But when one says: "I am rich and need nothing," there begins in spiritual matters just that lukewarmness of which we read: "I would thou wert cold or hot." This lukewarm religious state, this unconcern for salvation which is willfully gloried in, has certainly been disseminated by Goethe's views among a large class of men, yet through no fault of his, but of his blind worshippers. To the profoundly thoughtful man who takes a hearty interest in God and divine things, many of Goethe's words must certainly serve to elaborate and finish the inward man, for they contain many pearls that are well adapted to give increased ornament to the Christian, provided he stands on the step of the higher culture. But he whose life has no definite direction will hardly get it first from Goethe. Goethe is related to the individual man and his moral effort just as nature or a work of art. Both, after being observed and

understood, can serve to glorify God or lead to idolatry. Nature and art occupy a dumb relation in respect to morals, and the same is the case with Goethe. His motto is:

"If but in things thine own thou'rt just,
All else will of itself come right."

But things do not come right of themselves. Goethe was as little inclined to introspection as to lead others to it; he teaches man to set himself right in the world, and here every one can and should learn of him. But he does not and will not appeal to conscience; he allows every one to do as he pleases. This undesigning trait, which constitutes the character of a real work of art, is just what makes Goethe often appear so grand in contrast with the petty and passionate urging of commonplace fellows.¹ At times, when the world would draw us into such pressure, we may be very much refreshed and elevated by this dispassionate greatness; but I return to the point, that there is a great difference between one's artistic reflection and his moral mission. While the early period was contracted in morals, so that it would make even art their servant, Goethe and the later writers have properly set up art as a power independent of moral and political ends; but as men very easily pass from an error to its opposite, so did they here begin to observe morals only with artistic eyes, and to esteem only that in the ethical world which produces a great effect, and can furnish the material for a drama or a romance. The sense for quiet and modest virtue, for what was contemptuously called "civil morality," constantly receded into the background, and even the integrity, the modesty, and honesty of the plain Christian appeared to be only the narrowness of the tradesman, while everything in the genius was tolerated.

¹ He thus writes to Fr. H. Jacobi (1800): "My decided hatred of fanaticism, hypocrisy and arrogance, and even of the truly ideal good in man, which do not appear pure in experience, made me unjust. Here, as on many other subjects, we are taught by our times, and we learn that true estimation cannot be without forbearance." *Briefw.*, p. 220. *Comp.* p. 260: "Men are united by feelings, but separated by opinions."

This has been shown specially in the estimates placed on Goethe, whose excessive admirers maintained that he and men of similar nature (for example, Napoleon) must not be measured by the same standard of morals with other mortals.¹ But just here we come to the putrid spot of the worship of genius. We should proceed modestly in judging great men, and, instead of indulging in petty fault-finding, rather confess that, though we may not have many of their errors, we nevertheless stand far behind them in noble virtues, and that it is often only our mediocrity which keeps us close in the usual path of duty, while they, through the violent pressure of their genius, are easily thrown beyond the track. We should always bear in mind that a single great thought and deed of such a man outweighs a thousand of our well-meaning commonplace thoughts and trifling performances. But it is proper for us to ask, whether the standard that we set up is right; whether we understand the men whom we would judge; and whether much in them that displeases us would not appear in a totally different light if we looked at it in its proper connection?

This distrust of our own perception, and this shyness of all playing the pedagogue, is certainly worthy of all honor, and far removed from the idolatrous worship of genius; indeed, Christianity itself requires this candor. But to say that great minds are never subject to the general moral law, that they are thoroughly emancipated from it as favorites of Deity, that they bear purely *in themselves* the standard for judging them, that they are their own law, and, in short, that they are not subject to the divine law and order, is

¹ It is remarkable that this principle has been opposed by two men of perfectly diverse tendency: Röhr, in his *Memorial Address on Goethe*, which, unfortunately, I do not have at hand now, but whose contents I think that I remember; and J. P. Lange, on the *Liberation of Genius from the Law* (*Beiträge zu der Lehre von den letzten Dingen*, p. 1 ff.). Yet Lange himself has not hesitated to publish (anonymously) a Christian anthology from Goethe's writings: *Goethe's religiöse Poesie, kurzer Abriss der Theologie, dargestellt aus Goethe's poetischen Werken, für Theologen, Theologie-Studirende und gebildete Laien*, to which we refer our readers.

simply to deify man; and I beg you to bear in mind here, that just this hero-worship is found where pantheism has destroyed faith in the living, personal God. Man, where he should worship and adore, cannot be contented with an empty, general idea; he *will* and *must* adore personality, and where the personality of the Creator has vanished from him, he bestows adoration on the creature. One has lived as man among men in whom the fullness of the Godhead has dwelt bodily; and it is just of this One that we read, that he "was subject" to the law, that he obeyed and "fulfilled all righteousness;" and therefore God has elevated him, and "given him a name which is above every name," consequently above the highest and most celebrated; and only that which is joined and arranged in *this* connection, avails in God's kingdom. The greatness of the name is not thereby destroyed, but shines forth undisturbed and undiminished as a star in the great firmament, as an emerald in the throne of the Eternal.

We assert this also in relation to Goethe. The finest and most beautiful things written by Goethe have already been received in this connection, and while the Apostle says that "all things are yours," Christianity, in the strong consciousness of this right, has also turned Goethe to use; and truly his more sober admirers have acted more in the sense of the great poet than his unskillful and immoderate worshippers. Besides other sources, we can learn from one of his later Conversations with Eckermann, how high the master himself stood above the throng of his disciples who deified him.¹ "Every productiveness of the highest kind," Goethe says

¹ Vol. III. p. 236. Also in his earlier Conversations we meet with a disapprobatory declaration on the prevalent criticism (Vol. II. p. 266), and with the remarkable passages in which he speaks of immortality. And, however strangely and acutely he declares against those who speculate unprofitably on the future (sentimentally, as was the fashion at the time of Tiedge's *Urania*), he says just as decidedly, that all who are dead to this life, hope for no other (Vol. I. p. 121). Comp. Vol. II. p. 56, where he also bluntly says, that the Christian religion is mighty in itself, elevated above all philosophy, and needing none of its props.

here, "every important perception, discovery, and great thought which produce fruit and have a result, are subject to no one's power, and are elevated above all earthly force. Man should regard such things as unexpected gifts from heaven, as the pure children of God, whom he should receive and honor with joyous gratitude."

We occasionally meet with such expressions in the life of the strange man, and from the cold and apparently stony breast we are often surprised by the flashing forth of a flame of profound religious feeling; and though we would not say with a Christian philosopher,¹ that Goethe has proclaimed the gospel in his own language, yet he did certainly stand nearer to the fundamental convictions of the gospel by the authority of an unmerited divine grace than many a one with his formal Christianity. While we cannot confess that we must apply to Goethe a different moral standard from the one we would use in estimating others, we gladly acknowledge that the ways by which God leads such men are frequently hidden from us. A declaration of Goethe himself to Lavater has a remarkable interest for us just here: "My God, to whom I have remained faithful, has richly blessed me in secret, for my fate is perfectly concealed from men; they can neither see nor hear anything of it; but I delight to place in your heart what can be revealed of it."²

In conclusion, let me take one passage from his last Conversation with Eckermann: "Let intellectual culture continue to progress, let the natural sciences increase in breadth and depth, and let the human mind enlarge as it will, it will never get beyond the loftiness and moral education of Christianity as it sparkles and shines forth in the Gospels."³

¹ Göschel, in his *Unterhaltungen zur Göthe'schen Dicht- und Denkweise*, in Gelzer, p. 255. Note.

² In the year 1779, in Hirzel, p. 89. Comp. the passage in the letter of 1781, in Hegner, p. 188: "I am infinitely purified within, and yet I willingly admit that God and Satan, heaven and hell, which you describe so beautifully, are in me."

³ Vol. III. p. 378.

LECTURE XIV.

GOETHE'S ATTITUDE TOWARD PROTESTANTISM.—THE ROMANTICISTS.—THEIR RELATION TO PANTHEISM, AND PARTIAL INCLINATION TO CATHOLICISM.—NOVALIS.—LA MOTTE FOUQUÉ.

Goethe's relation to Christianity is a subject which can be extended much further than we have done in the last lecture. With his twofold nature, of which he himself was conscious,—his profound knowledge and his light and often frivolous manner,—so much can be said for and against him, and the subject can be looked at from such varied points of view, that at one time we are just as much surprised at the harmony of his fundamental views with those of Christianity as, at another, we are repelled by his seeming coldness or levity in passing over the holiest concerns.¹ But it is as far from our purpose to pronounce a definite opinion on Goethe as it has been on Schiller, Pestalozzi, Fichte, Schelling and others. We have had merely to speak of what Goethe was to his times, how his times understood and received him, and how the Goethean culture operated upon the last century, but especially upon the present. And as it is certain that, next to the recent speculative philosophy, which appeared at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, it is Goethe who principally controlled, and still rules, the educated world, and has become really the organ of the spirit of the age.

¹ Compare the second Note on the preceding page.—On the Mephistophelian nature which Goethe could occasionally exhibit, see *Eckermann*, Vol. III. pp. 322—325.

But we should miss our object unless we examined more minutely Goethe's attitude toward Protestantism. He was not only a reformatory, but, to use his own expression in his own sense, a productive man, for he has created a new period, especially in art; and though this does not seem to be connected directly with the ecclesiastical Reformation, we can certainly not regard it as a mere accident, that just the men who were called to give a new flight to the German literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,—Lessing, Klopstock, Herder, Goethe,—came, without exception, from the bosom of the Protestant church, as was the case in philosophy with Leibnitz, Wolf, Kant, Fichte, Schelling and Hegel. All are branches of the same stock. Goethe himself must have seen this connection, as is plain from his opinion of Luther. "Luther," he thus says in his *Conversations with Eckermann*, "was a genius of a very important kind; he will work a good long time, and the number of the days in the far distant centuries when he will cease to be productive, is incalculable."¹ Goethe's modesty here is grand and touching, compared with the pigmy race of the new reformers, who believed that they had gone far beyond Luther. Goethe himself best casts the horoscope of this race in a letter to Zelter, in 1816: "The incredible conceit into which young people are now grown, will be manifested in a few years in the greatest follies." And just this has come to pass.²

We think that Goethe, so far as he introduced a new period into the history of the German language, may be fitly compared with Luther. What Luther became to the church by his pithy Scriptural and ecclesiastical language, Goethe has become to the world and to society by his plastic rep-

¹ Vol. III. p. 229.

² Goethe pronounced a truly Protestant opinion on the so-called "Liberalism." See *Gespräche*, Vol. III. p. 289: "The true Liberal seeks to effect as much good as he can by the means at his command; but he is careful not to immediately destroy with fire and sword the often unavoidable defects. He takes pains gradually to supplant public blemishes by judicious progress, but without at the same time destroying just as much good by violent measures."

resentation, by his perspicuous language of the world and of society. They may be unhesitatingly placed beside each other as insurpassable classic models, though, of course, each in his own way. As for their mode and tendency of life, Luther and Goethe have but few points in common; and to the son of the Frankfort senator, who sits in the bosom of fortune and develops, as though spontaneously, amid all the cheerful images of art, the miner's son and the Augustine monk presents as remarkable a contrast as the Wittenberg times do to those of Weimar. We could far sooner compare Schiller, Herder, Fichte, or similar men to Luther if we were required to name those who, like Luther, fought through a severe youth, staked their life for an idea, and would have defied a world of devils to advance light and right.

Goethe has been blamed for taking as good as no interest in the great political struggle of Germany with its oppressors. He has been compared in this respect to the famous Erasmus, in his reserve, his wit, his courtly manner, and his favor at court. Yet it occurs to us that Goethe is placed at too great a disadvantage by this comparison. Both were the greatest celebrities of their day; but in Goethe there was something fresher, more pithy, and more healthy, —just that productiveness which he perceived in Luther, and therefore was a legacy from Luther himself. We meet with one period in particular in Goethe's life in which this heirloom operated vigorously in him; it was when he wrote his *Götz von Berlichingen*, in which he paints the corruption of his times in the most glaring colors. "To stake life for the general happiness," he says, "would be a life indeed!"

At a later date Goethe thought differently from this, but yet he took a correct view of the great historical meaning of the nature of Protestantism. It will not surprise any one that, with his versatility, he knew how to look at the historical position of Catholicism, and that, as an artist and poet, he could make use of Catholic forms; and even his occasionally avowed preference for the seven Catholic sacraments (because he thought that the Protestant service had too little fullness and consistency to hold minds together) must

be excused as one of his hobbies.¹ He was certainly not serious in the Catholic tendencies that some have attributed to him. Goethe remained a Protestant, with a full and sound heart, and more than once took his own way for deriding the new Catholic poets of the Romantic school.² But, on the other hand, he would never be earnest, for that was not his nature. He was tolerant also of confessional differences, and even expressed this tolerance in a manner of evident indifference, as in the verse:

"The Pater Noster is a prayer
Which helps in every way;
When one the Pater Noster prays,
In God's name let him pray!"

But when he was collected, and showed himself seriously as the Goethe to whose voice the age was listening, he spoke as soundly and judiciously of Protestantism and its essential principles as of Christianity in general. Thus, on the occasion of the approaching annual Celebration of the Reformation in Germany (1816), he declared that the principal idea of Lutheranism is well-founded, for it rests upon the decided contrast of the law and the gospel, and therefore Lutheranism can never be reunited with popery. "The true disposition," he thus calls Protestantism, when speaking of Frederick Schle-

¹ *Aus meinem Leben*. Book 17. Werke XXIII. p. 117.

² For example, in the parable: "In a city where equality," etc., *Gedichte*, Vol. II. p. 222. We learn from his own confessions, and particularly from his description of All Souls' Festival (November, 1786), how little he was attracted to the Romish service on the score of taste. "I was seized by a wonderful desire that the chief-priest should open his golden mouth, and, speaking rapturously of the unutterable salvation of the blessed, put us in ecstasy. But when I saw him moving only to and fro before the altar, now turning on this side and now on that, behaving and mumbling like a common priest, my Protestant original sin stirred me up, and the well-known and familiar sacrifice of the mass gave me no pleasure whatever."—In another passage he speaks of "rude and quaint heathendom."—He pronounced a no more favorable opinion on Rome's politics. See *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. II. pp. 98, 111: "The Catholics cannot be trusted; they do not agree among themselves, but always hold together when they are fighting a Protestant."

gel's uniting with the Romish church, "has spread far, and can no more go down, though it may be modified to an unlimited extent by individualities."¹

The relation in this respect was quite different with Goethe from what it was with the Romantic school, which, like him, had an undeniable affinity with the philosophy of Schelling, except that Romanticism appropriated the imaginative, while Goethe, with his great wealth of native imagination, appropriated the real philosophical essence, but not the thorny shell. We see in Romanticism, on the one hand, in contrast with the Rationalistic tendencies, a return to the positive, or rather to the presaging, mysterious, and superabundant underlying the positive; but, on the other hand, an unmistakable inclination in part to pantheism and in part to Catholicism.

We must first of all come to an understanding on the character of the Romantic poetry, whose name is not the most definitive.² It has been asserted that the real nature of the Romantic school consists in its having led poetry and art from the heathen soil, which it had so long held in fee, to the Christian ground. But we should not so much understand thereby that Christianity was comprised in Romanticism, and that what is opposed to it is unchristian, as that, with Romanticism alone, true Christianity has been introduced into the hearts of poets and of the people, from whom it had been driven by heathen poetry and art, and that we should only need to profess adherence to the Romantic school to be good Christians. But it almost seems that many at that time did go so far. The assertion that Romanticism is naturally Christian requires, however, great qualification. It can only be so if we think of the form of Christian poetry, but not of the matter, and still less of the peculiar sentiment of the poet, which thereby remains quite out of consideration. But

¹ Comp. *Briefwechsel mit Zelter*, Vol. I. p. 328, and Vol. II. p. 319.

² See, on the abuse of the word, Goethe's witty opinions in the *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. II. p. 92, and elsewhere. The epithet "Romantic" has since been used for all possible disagreeable tendencies, as Strauss has regarded even Julian the Apostate as the "Romanticist on the throne of the Cæsars."

as for the form, we could more properly speak of a Middle Age than of a Christian one. No one will number the Apostles or the Reformers among the Romanticists, and call the form in which they have written Romantic; on the contrary, the human character of Scriptural and apostolical Christianity rests solely upon the ancient and classic ground, as the New Testament was written in the Greek language, and the church lived for many centuries upon this supply of Grecian and Roman education. Even the Church Fathers were not Romanticists, and just as little were the scholastic theologians of the Middle Ages; it was only the Mystics who, by profound intensity of feeling and peculiar figurative language, betrayed a Romantic tendency.

Looking at the Reformation, we see how it had been largely prepared by the reawakening and revivification of the classical studies of antiquity. We are therefore referred to the Middle Ages, the time when the papacy and Roman Catholicism acquired their greatest respectability. Romanticism derived less material from the theology of this period than from its other institutions,—knighthood, monasticism, and the Crusades. Romanticism can undoubtedly be called Christian in so far as it proceeded from an externally strengthened (but degenerated, Catholicized and Romanized) Christianity. We would not at all deny that the profound Christian ideas have found the purest poetical expression in these forms. We need only call to mind the architecture of the Middle Ages and the elder German schools of painting. Certainly, the general Middle Age view can be appropriately called Christian, when placed in antithesis to ancient and classical heathendom, because it rests solely on Christian traditions, is historically supported by Christianity, and is even pervaded by its intellectual and social elements of education. Now, so far as most of the German poets, from Opitz down to Schiller and Goethe, have, in their poems united with the forms of the ancient Grecian and Roman world, whether with or without much taste, and introduced the old mythology into them, or, like Klopstock, turned from the Grecian mythology to the old German, but yet on the other hand despised rhyme,

and imitated the old meter of the Greeks and Romans,—so far they stood formally on heathen ground.

But this does not declare that the import of their poems was necessarily heathenish.¹ Some of those poets, though by no means all, undoubtedly filled their poems with heathen matter. Who will refuse to call Bodmer, Haller, Klopstock, Cramer, and Gellert *Christian* poets because they are devoid of the Romantic drapery, have adopted the old meter, either the hexameter or the Alexandrine, and have strided off somewhat stiffly in it? According to this theory, even the great lyric poets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Flemming, Paul Gerhard and others, would have to be excluded from Christianity. If we should call only the Romantic poetry *Christian*, we should, in fact, be guilty of a total confusion of ideas or of passionate infatuation. It is not the form but the matter that makes a poem *Christian*; and therefore there are many Romantic poems which, with all the form borrowed from Christianity, have unchristian and offensive matter. At least, the imitation of the Romanticists among the French has not contributed to the promotion of practical Christianity.

Still, the service of Romanticism should not be ignored. It has unquestionably opened new paths to art and poetry, and assigned a limit to the slavish and often inappropriate imitation of the ancients. "The Romanticists," says Geivinus, "have undoubtedly contributed largely to the continuance of the Goethean period, to arouse to a current our stagnant German private life, to destroy some of its snobbishness, to send a fresh draught through the close atmosphere of the room, to call out learned men under the open heavens, to break the monotony of society, and to substitute a cheerful elegance for punctiliousness and pedantry."² Yet we should not forget that here, too, others have led the van. Herder, who carefully collected the voices of the nations as expressed in popular songs, first awakened the taste for a poetry which

¹ We are here best convinced that the form and matter did not always perfectly harmonize, as the new speculative philosophy holds.

² *Nationallitteratur*, Vol. V. p. 600.

lay outside the bounds of Rome and Greece, and which had just as much right to be called *poetry* as that which had hitherto passed by that name exclusively. Goethe, too, has helped to break the bonds which anxiously kept the mind captive in its old forms; he, however, with his versatility, treated the ancient, the Middle Age, the modern, the western, and the eastern with equal artistic skill, while the real Romantics either confined themselves to the Middle Age form of Christianity or conceded the unquestionable precedence of this to the classical. But by this means they only bound a new scholastic fetter on genius, and thereby introduced a manner which only concealed the want of true and original spirit. As was the case in philosophy so now in poetry, a certain dexterity of style and language henceforth became established, by which the self-examining understanding was intimidated as by an enchantment, and the right of having its own say was contested from the very outset. Who could prevent a new arrogance from taking the place of the old, and from the fancy of genius asserting its authority in opposition to the fancy of illuminism?

By applying this remark more specifically to religion, we observe that the Romantic school, inasmuch as it became absorbed in the general Christian view prevailing in the Middle Ages, constituted all the stronger contrast to the skepticism and shallowness which had for a time maintained the upper hand. Romanticism proved itself a reaction, and became immediately the sworn foe of Rationalism; it hunted it into all its lurking places, though not angrily or over zealously, like orthodoxy, but tantalizing it continually, and making it as ridiculous as possible, not in the religious and ecclesiastical department alone, but in education, training, morals, and even politics. Everywhere and with great audacity it asserted the rights of the imagination (almost more than those of real feeling), in opposition to the intelligibility and reasonableness of the age. What the priests of illuminism had derided and scoffed at, was now raised from the dust into the sunlight, and saluted with almost unbounded enthusiasm. The new wit was now applied against what was old;

the pedantic and precocious illuminism was laughed at, its own derision being paid back with large interest.

No one went further in the use of this wanton humor than Tieck.¹ While the philanthropical educators, Basedow and Campe, had depressed all development of the imagination, and had banished from the nursery the juvenile tales, with the beautiful Christmas-tree and even the infant Christ himself and his halo, legends were now praised instead of moral tales as the real gospel for childhood; and not children and the common people alone, but even the adult and educated, should now have more taste for the Genovefa, the horned Siegfried, the seven children of Aimon, and the Emperor Octavian, than for the tedious skeptical sermons of Nicolai and similar men. Thus people soon went from one extreme to the other. Yet (and this was not the most dangerous feature of Romanticism) not the understanding alone, but also legal morality, was removed as an intellectual fetter confining free genius to the forms of tradition; divine harshness was opposed to modesty, and a dangerous levity in the treatment of the holiest human relations was opposed to the old integrity, which was now designated as pride of honor and moral affectation (prudery). We need only call to mind Schlegel's Lucinda.

But, on the other hand, besides this moral freedom and laxity there was also quite a perceptible preference for feudalism, knighthood, the privileges of the nobility, etc., in opposition to the revolutionary intoxication for freedom. So in theology, there was not merely a regard to the awakening animation of religious feeling, but also to a restoration of certain favorite ideas, by which the imagination could have full play without interfering essentially with the improvement of man. The mysterious and wonderful, which Rationalism thought it had removed, were again tenderly fostered; just that at which the understanding had taken offence was praised as the real nature of religion. The conclusion is self-evident, that only a doubtful service was rendered to that simple, Scriptural, and purely apostolical Christianity which evan-

¹ *Zerbino oder die Reise zum guten Geschmack.*

gelical Protestantism had desired. Miracles were not loved alone because of faith, but because they were miracles; the imagination was stimulated and violently excited; and it revelled in exuberance, in which there seemed to be less regard to moral holiness than to enjoyment.

We here meet with a phenomenon similar to what we found in Schelling's natural philosophy. As the latter tickled the speculative reason by mysteries, without being influenced by the heart and will, so did Romanticism now tickle the power of imagination.¹ Christian language and Christian harmonies here again fell upon the ear; everything seemed to be in a magical twilight; people sang and whispered of the "child Jesus" and his "glorious mother," of the saving effect of the sacraments, and of other matters, without feeling at the same time that the Christian sentiment and direction of life had an active part to play. Even dissoluteness did not seem altogether incompatible with such exuberance. And here again we must ask, in the interest of the church and of Christianity, whether, after all, we would not prefer barren Rationalism, with its dry but honorable and serious morals, if we had to choose between it and such a Romanized Christianity? Here too we must repeat the observation that pantheism, the equalization of God and the world, the removal of the bounds between human freedom and natural necessity, or at least the unscrupulous jostling against these bounds, the confusion of nature and morality, of metaphysics, æsthetics and religion, and the removal and derision of an intelligible, organizing activity, which preserves these departments in all their distinctness, played a great part in the perversions of Romanticism. We speak only against these perversions, but strangely enough, these appeared prominently as good and wholesome effects, some of which, especially in the department of art, we would not ignore.

Now while Romanticism occupied an equivocal and oblique

¹ Comp. the estimate of Romanticism, which harmonizes in the main with ours, in the well-written book of Carl Schwarz: *Zur Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*. Leipzig, 1864. Yet we cannot coincide fully with the author in other parts of his work.

attitude toward Christianity, we must call its position toward Protestantism decidedly dangerous. It should make us suspicious of it when we see it seeking Christianity where Protestantism does not find it. I will confess,—indeed, I must sincerely thank Romanticism for it,—that it has moderated certain defects and asperities of Protestantism, opened before us a freer and more impartial view of the artistic beauties of the Middle Ages,¹ and shown us many sides of Protestantism in a better light than in which we had hitherto viewed them. But it can do no harm to be on our guard here, lest we should be humbugged to believe that everything is beautiful, profound and sensible which merely makes a Middle Age face. But while Protestantism was despised by the first leaders of this school, and its doctrine and life denied, and while the apostates from the Protestant to the Catholic church are found, though not exclusively, on this Romantic ground, it is not saying too much to call its attitude dangerous.

But in affirming this, we by no means declare that the men who adopted this tendency were thoroughly devoid of a Christian or Protestant character; for, as for Christian character, we find, on the contrary, individuals among them who were pervaded by the most earnest Christian feeling, and contributed greatly to awaken and arouse it in others; and with reference to the attitude of the Romanticists to Protestantism, it is one of more or less magnitude. In this respect we can distinguish three classes of Romanticists: those who really passed over to Protestantism; those who outwardly remained Protestant, but did not deny their Catholic sympathies; and those who returned after long vacillation to a decided Protestant conviction, and in whom Romanticism aided to adorn Lutheranism. We reserve the first class for the following lecture, when we will treat it in connection with other apostates. I choose two men as representatives of the last two classes whose names are familiar in literature. One is a poet, who is not only well-known, but is certainly beloved and worthy, because a deeper trace of Christianity pervades

¹ Comp. especially *Die Herzensergiessungen eines kunstliebenden Klosterbruders* (by Wackenroder), published by Tieck.

his hymns than we have found in the so-called classic poets, Schiller and Goethe, and which we scarcely found in such Christian earnestness even in Herder. I mean Hardenberg, or as he calls himself as a writer, Novalis. The other, less known as a Christian poet, is Baron La Motte Fouqué.

The delicate fervency of true Romanticism has certainly been nowhere more beautifully expressed than in the hymns of Novalis, which are a salutary contrast to the shallow moral rhymes of the period of illuminism; and though they are not really church hymns, they can be sung heartily and emotionally in quiet solitude. In the midst of the most varied circumstances and mental states of life, in what heart would not the holiest sympathy be awakened by such earnest and tender hymns as: "He who sits in His chamber alone," or: "If only Him I have," or: "Though all be false, yet will not I?" After all that long period of skepticism, who would not joyfully look with the poet upon a new period, in such words as these:

"To every one I say:
He's risen and lives now;
He moves in our midst,
And with us e'er doth go.

I say to all: Let each
To all his friends declare,
The heavenly kingdom new
Is dawning everywhere.

To our new sense, the world
Now seems our native land,
And, ravished, we receive
A new life from His hand.

He lives and with us stays,
When left by all the rest;
And thus this day shall be
The world's renewal feast."

But if we further ask what the poet understood by this renewal of the world, we shall hardly feel satisfied. Particularly in his prose works we stumble upon expressions that now indicate an indistinct pantheistic excitement of feeling, and

now plainly defined Catholicism. Or who will not hesitate to unite with him in saying, that man is not made happy by definite senses and feelings, but by indefinite ones; that the most perfect consciousness is that which is conscious of everything and nothing; indeed, that the poetic sense is necessarily related to madness.¹ And who can ward off an uncomfortable shudder when, amid many beautiful and spirited remarks of the pious poet, we hear him say: "The Christian religion is the real religion of pleasure. Sin is the greatest charm for the love of God. . . . Unqualified union with Deity is the purpose of sin and love. Dithyrambs are a truly Christian product!" The confusion of a romantic, subtle and sensuous love with religious love, led to the poetical worship of the Virgin Mary, which built a bridge for such minds to pass over to Catholicism. This Mariolatry crops out openly in Novalis. Many of his poems are not addressed merely as poetic fiction, but seriously, to the Queen of Heaven, just as he elsewhere turns to Christ as the Lord. Indeed, he confesses that the Heavenly Virgin has a power and glory far beyond all description, and that she is the fountain of heavenly blessedness.

"I see thee, Mary, in a thousand images
Expressed, but nowhere as my soul sees thee
Since my spirit gazed on thee, this world's din
Is nothing but a dream, for a heaven
Beyond description dwells ever in my breast."

Yet not Mariolatry alone, but the whole edifice of the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, found in the heart of Novalis a powerful harmony, and in him an eloquent defender.

Novalis, in a fragment of the year 1799, inscribed Christianity, or Europe, praises the "beautiful and splendid" period of the Middle Ages, when our quarter of the world was occupied by one Christianity, when the widely separated provinces were connected by one great and common interest, when political powers were united under one head, and when the clergy preached nothing but love for the holy and wonderful Woman of Christianity, who, endowed with divine powers,

¹ *Schriften*, Vol. II. p. 163.

was ready to save every believer from the most awful dangers. But still more than the poetry of the service,—which we must excuse in the poet,—does he approve the conduct of the head of the church in opposing the bold improvement of human talents and the dangerous scientific discoveries, whenever they occurred at the expense of a sacred feeling. He fully justifies the pope for prohibiting the consideration of the earth as an insignificant planet, because, with the loss of respect for our earthly home, there is also ruined that for our heavenly one. He praises the wisdom of the popes in collecting the enlightened men at their court, while they kept the people in ignorance. Therefore he does not regard the restoration of the sciences and the succeeding Reformation as other Protestants, as a blessing for mankind, but a misfortune, at least a temporal one. "Luther," says he, "treated Christianity arbitrarily; he misconceived its spirit, and introduced another letter and religion, namely, the holy universal sufficiency of the Bible; and, second, another highly extraneous earthly science, so unfortunately mixed up in religious concerns,—philology, whose injurious influence afterward became unmistakable."

We may find such sentiments excusable if we remember that, after Luther, Protestantism soon became ossified in the letter to a dead orthodoxy, and that the same sifting of the letter and syllable became established in those who, by means of a rigidly grammatical exposition of the Bible, at last applied themselves to explaining all the spirit out of it, as learned theology often delays at grammatical specialties without penetrating the meaning and spirit of the Scriptures. Yet Novalis should not have laid upon Luther the burden which belongs to the theologians of his party. "Luther misconceived the spirit of Christianity," is, to say the least, a misconception of Luther's spirit. And why did Luther misconceive the spirit of Christianity? Novalis says: "Because he introduced the holy universal sufficiency of the Bible." Is not this a misconception of the spirit of the Reformation and of Protestantism? Of course, we would not defend that credibility of the Bible which mistakes, in the written letter of

the Scriptures, the riches of the ecclesiastical life as developed in the fullness of the centuries, or which will not let the inward word ascend above the external, written word. We have already called this a Protestant defect, but should Luther's great deed of restoring the Bible to Christian people, and of placing it as a lamp on the altar instead of dumb pictures and symbols,—a deed for which we cannot praise God enough,—be called a misdeed or a misconception? But our Romanticist is simply untruthful when he further charges the Protestants as follows: "Luther has been elevated by many of them to the rank of an Evangelist, and his translation of the Bible has been canonized." Luther's translation has never been canonized, nor ever recognized as the only valid one, by the declaration of any council; it has hewn its way by its own excellence, and other translations have gained favor beside it. Novalis knew this very well. But his mind was prejudiced against the Reformation, because he erroneously charged the Reformers with those deeds of Protestantism which he properly opposed. And hence it is natural, that when the whole history of Protestantism presents no great supernatural phenomenon to the ill-humored and prejudiced mind, the latter finds everywhere nothing more than a smothered, confined and stunted life. "Christianity was undone with the Reformation," says Novalis; "it no more existed after this, for all things were opposed to each other in sectarian division."

After all this, we can expect nothing else than that Novalis should enter the church which had been preserved from this misery of the Reformation. But he would not do this, and was far from wishing to restore unconditionally the old Romanism; he hoped, rather, that this crisis of unbelief, by which he did not yet feel affected, would lead to a transformation of the church, and restore true Catholicism, which would reunite what had been divided; and it was on Romanticism that he established the most of these hopes. "Poetry," he says, "is more attractive and of richer color than a painted Indian standing before the cold and dead Spitzbergen of that bookish understanding. . . . He who has felt the heart-throb of the new period, no more doubts its coming, and with

a sweet pride he steps out of the crowd of his contemporaries to the new group of disciples." This poet also regarded the political revolutions as an indication of the approaching change, and that the reconciliation of the nations and general peace could not come from the cabinets, but from religion. "War will never cease if the olive-branch is not taken, which alone can afford spiritual power. Blood will stream over Europe until the nations become aware of the fearful madness by which they are driven, and, soothed by the holy music, approach their former altars in all their diversity, undertake the works of peace, and celebrate with hot tears, on smoking battle-fields, a great feast of love as a feast of peace. It is only by religion that Europe can be awakened, the nations rendered secure, and Christianity visibly installed on the earth in new glory, in its former peaceful office. . . . Christianity must again become vital and effective, and again form, without regard to territorial limits, a visible church, which will receive to its bosom all souls that are thirsting after what is heavenly, and will willingly be the mediator of the old and the new world. It must again pour out the old cornucopia of blessings upon the nations. It will arise from the holy bosom of a venerable European council, and the work of religious awakening will be carried on according to the all-comprehensive divine plan. No one will any more trotest against Christian and temporal compulsion, for the nature of the church will be true freedom; and all necessary reforms will be conducted under its guidance as peaceful and proper civil processes. We must not ask when this time will come. Only be patient; it *will* and *must* come,—the holy time of eternal peace, when the new Jerusalem will be the metropolis of the world,—and until then be glad and courageous amid the dangers of the times. Companions of my faith, proclaim in word and deed the divine Gospel, and remain faithful until death to the true and infinite faith!"

Thus Novalis spoke and hoped. If we take a look at his hasty life, for it was a passing shadow, we shall see a noble mind in the midst of manifold errors, which struggled for light and was purified in the fire. If Novalis had reached

his maturity, he would have pronounced a different opinion on many things. We cannot take offence at his youth, but we would still less use it as a guide over dizzy heights. He died in the home of his parents at Weissenfels, on the 25th of March, 1801, not yet having reached his twenty-ninth year, but rich in sweet and bitter experiences. He had been sickly when a child. His first love had been crushed by the death of the lady to whom he was betrothed, and from the ruins he had built up the altar of his domestic life by a second union. Of his friends, Frederick Schlegel and Fichte exercised the greatest influence upon him. His love for his Redeemer, which, with all his leaning to Catholicism, was the key-note to his religious feelings, sustained him firmly in his sufferings. The Bible, which he regarded most highly as God's word, notwithstanding his incorrect notions of its distribution, together with the writings of Lavater and Zinzendorf, were the companions of his sick bed. He fell asleep amid the soft notes of the piano, which he had requested his brother to play. In music he had continually sought a profound symbol of the most hearty spiritual relations, for nature, to whose study he committed himself, disclosed such relations to him.¹ "The expression of his face," says Tieck, "approached very nearly that of John the Evangelist, as we have seen him on Albert Dürer's glorious tablet. . . . His friendliness and frankness made him everywhere beloved. . . . He could be as joyous as a child, sporting in unfettered glee, and willingly surrendering himself to the pleasantries of society. Without vanity and learned pride, removed from all affectation and hypocrisy, he was a pure and true man, the purest and loveliest embodiment of an exalted and immortal spirit."²

While Novalis sprang from the bosom of a pious Moravian family, and his imagination and feeling had early received those impressions which gave his life its peculiar direction, the outward relations of La Motte Fouqué, as we hear from himself, awakened in him the poetic feeling, and filled his

¹ See particularly his romance: *Heinrich von Ofterdingen*.

² In the poet's *Biographie*, whose works Tieck, in connection with Frederick Schlegel, first published. Berlin, 1805.

imagination with bright images.¹ But we learn further from his Autobiography, how the skeptical method of teachers constituted the most marked contrast to the imaginative tendency of the boy; how the ghost of the freethinking century crept in wherever it was important to influence his youthful mind with earnest religious instructions; and how even his pious parents shared the current prejudice, that children should not be molested too soon with religion. We are also repeatedly assured that, in training him, everything was taught by purely intellectual arguments, for nothing was said of divine grace and revelation. The scholar learned from his teacher that Homer's songs were the Bible of the Greeks, but was never informed what the Christian's Bible is. When he was further advanced, a Lutheran preacher entertained him with anecdotes and romances more than with God's Word. Afterward, the worthy Reformed preacher of the French Colony in Potsdam, who prepared him for the Lord's Supper, laid the Bible on the table during instruction, without teaching him but one passage in it, much less building his instruction upon it, and patched everything together, though with a very good purpose, from human conclusions and proofs. Therefore the act of confirmation looked more like a correct disputation than an ecclesiastical act. Fouqué further tells us, how his natural emotions came to his help by the remembrance of his deceased mother, and yet, in spite of them, that he was far from having any real religious feeling. The young applicant for confirmation had no idea of what he was doing. Strangely enough, he even tells us that, at that solemn moment of confirmation, he had no better means of adhering to his numerous good resolutions than by taking as a witness to them the greyhound lying asleep under the table, for he resolved that, as often as he thought of the brute, he would be reminded of his vow. In hearing all these things we can well imagine what a web was necessarily woven when Rationalistic instruction formed its woof, and the boy's own fancy its warp.

Therefore we cannot be surprised that Fouqué should after-

¹ *Lebensgeschichte*. Halle, 1840.

ward be radically opposed to all defective training of the understanding, and that in his earnest seeking of truth, which he did not relinquish in the midst of military service and his worship of the muses, he should even be led into many errors, however beautiful and excellent in itself was his principle, that we should learn everything by heart.

Fouqué, too, was strongly tempted to enter the Catholic church. An old Catholic priest, also named La Motte Fouqué, a scion of the remaining Catholic branch of the family, invited him by letter to take this step, and also appealed to him to return to France, whence his ancestors had been banished for their adherence to the Reformed Confession. But Fouqué declined the proposition, although, as he himself assures us, his mind was then more inclined to Catholicism than opposed to it. "But matters went with me," he says, "as with the early nations converted to Christianity,—first Catholicism, and then purified, evangelical Christianity." "I was attracted most of all," he frankly and honestly says, "by the glories of the Catholic service, and by the legendary miracles represented in such great splendor by the poems of the Romantic school, to which I belonged in soul and body." He once seriously entertained the thought of returning, with his second wife, to the old church. He dreamed of chapels, of pilgrimages to Italy, etc.,—dreams which he lived to describe as "sinful vanity from which God again delivered me."

Fouqué now applied himself more than ever to Protestant Mysticism; and it was the father of the Protestant Mystics, Jacob Boehme, in whom he became immersed, and who was honored even by the natural philosophers and the Romantics as the source of profound truth. The young poet, as he tells us himself, "first sought only the shining enigmatical pictures in the halls of the mysterious edifice; but the Scriptural passages there engraved, and the pious and oft-repeated wish of Jacob Boehme,—'I would that all the world might be led to the holy original fountain of truth, the Bible, and then forget all my books,'—continued to pervade the soul of the imaginative reader, and streamed into his heart with an awakening shudder." Thus, just what

had disinclined Novalis to Protestantism, served to lead Fouqué toward it.

But to Boehme's invigorating influence there was now added that of Fichte, whose views Fouqué, however, could not fully endorse, and with whom he once disputed on redemption a great part of the night. Yet Fichte's society influenced him as that of a "paternal friend." But the serious political strife at last decided the issue. The necessity of his country taught the poet-soldier to pray for himself and the salvation of his people. After peace was restored, he received from a former companion in arms strong admonitions to seek the one thing needful. From many quarters he was invited to bid adieu to all worldly poetical fame, and dedicate himself solely to sacred poetry. Yet Fouqué did not do this, but he did implore God's blessing upon his secular poems. He sought to transfer as much of the ancestral faith as possible to the outward relations of life. Though, in the effort, there was much that had the fantastic color of his whole life, we are yet glad to hear him thus answer the question propounded to him in relation to his religious faith: "Expect from me everything which you can expect from a simple, Bible-believing Christian; neither more nor less, if God give me strength." As a poet, Fouqué is inferior to Novalis, but though all of his hymns do not have an equal charm,¹ we find them breathing but one sentiment, which he has himself expressed in a prayer, written in the year 1809, in the following words:

"I'm standing ready, Lord,
For all that Thou dost say;
For praising Thee in song,
Or joining in the fray.
Thy messenger in fight,
Thy messenger at home,
I'll sweetly take my rest
When under Heaven's dome.

¹ We do not here speak of his romances, *Undine* and *Zauberring*.

LECTURE XV.

THE APOSTATES WINCKELMANN AND STOLBERG.—STOLBERG'S
RELATION TO LAVATER, THE PRINCESS OF GALITZIN, AND
JACOBI. — THE CRYPTO-CATHOLIC STARK. — FREDERICK
SCHLEGEL.

The history of the defection of distinguished individuals from the Protestant confession, or the history of apostasy, unquestionably belongs to that of the development of evangelical Protestantism, and to this subject we must direct attention in the present lecture, and in part in the following one. It might be said, why concern ourselves about those who have left us? The Protestant church has not become poorer by their departure, and the fate of individuals who have gone astray, as we shall have to consider them, is not that of the church.

Yet this hard and lordly language would ill become Protestantism, which places freedom of conscience first of all, and holds that no visible church is the only saving one. He who knows what conflicts of conscience it cost Luther to separate from the old church, in which, notwithstanding all its burdensome corruption, his inward nature first found nourishment;¹ who knows the efforts which the church made even after the Reformation to re-awaken spiritual life in its members; who remembers the efforts of Borromeo, Francis

¹ Thus Luther spoke in his *Unterricht auf etliche Artikel*, etc., in 1519: "From the church in which Saints Peter and Paul, forty-six popes, and hundreds of thousands of martyrs have conquered hell and the world, one cannot separate without sin."

of Sales, Pascal, Bossuet, and Fenelon, and, on the other hand, the piercing frost of unbelief which, for some time, entered the Protestant church from certain quarters; who recollects how the name of Protestantism was abused by a certain party to protest against everything, and mostly against the fundamental doctrines of Protestantism itself, and how everything was despised as Catholicism, as priesthood and Judaism, which showed any respect and love for Christian institutions, and took an interest in the spread of Christian principles and the introduction of Christian associations,—will very clearly see that even highly gifted men, men of spirit and sound judgment, could go astray on Protestantism, and that they should at last turn again to the old church, which seemed to them to rest on stronger principles.

But the most important thing here is not the departure of individuals, which may be regarded as a private matter, and must be judged mildly or strongly according to circumstances. But the ease with which this apostasy occurred just at a certain time and under certain circumstances, induces us to direct attention to the condition of the Protestant church at that time. The apostasy of individuals to the Catholic church was certainly nothing new. History has experienced this at every period; for example, George Wicel, Luke Holstein, Angelus Silesius, Queen Christiana of Sweden, and others. But what was really an individual step in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, strengthened in the new period into a spiritual tendency, which was connected by unmistakable sympathies. The Romantic school, to which Novalis belonged, still numbered many adherents, and led public and secret proselytes to Rome, even those of whom history makes no mention. And, indeed, the Catholic church did not need here those special persuasive arts, or Jesuitical intrigues, or appeals to earthly advantages which have ever been used by the papacy for seducing the weak. But many of these transitions occurred from voluntary conviction and inclination, and from an irresistible attraction of the soul. Their cause need not be sought at a distance, but lies in what we have hitherto considered. Protestantism had long been divided in itself. What

was closely united by the Reformers,—believing sentiment and free inquiry,—had been so far sundered that it seemed impossible to many to unite them. The negative, rational, and critical element of Protestantism had been imprinted in Rationalism, and the positive element in Pietism or Mysticism. Yet none of these presented the perfect picture of the beneficent unity of the sentiment of the Reformation; neither alone could satisfy him who longed for inward harmony.

The church was also externally divided, for there was a multitude of little state-churches in Germany and of little cantonal churches in Switzerland, and there was no common bond anywhere. And even if there had been a desire to renounce the external bond, the spiritual one had everywhere become loose and weak, frequently broken, and only poorly united by individuals in secret. There was not an absence, indeed, of true Protestant spirit and effort, a fact which, I hope, has been convincingly proved by the previous history. But the champions of recent Protestantism occupying the highest positions, whom the times needed, were not united among themselves, but were often passionately involved in the prevailing conflicts. There was no calm survey of what had been, and was yet to be, acquired. The philosophical systems, which supplanted each other in quick succession, could not furnish the theological certainty possessed by the early teachers of the church. It could not be enforced from without, and still less from within, without hypocrisy. The individual could not voluntarily escape from the conflict, and even the most honest man had to pass through the school of doubt in his search for truth. And it was a strong confidence that, after all, the struggle would lead to a beneficial issue, and a correct instinct that apostasy was justified in no case, but that the goal for which we strive lies only before us, which still made many follow the standard of Protestantism when they could no more hear above the scene of battle the war-cry which they had all formerly listened to. But we cannot prize too highly the fact, that in this conflict one here and there lagged behind, that occasionally a faint-hearted one threw down his arms, and gave himself up

as a deserter to the old adversary. Such occurrences are explicable by the condition of things, though by no means excusable.

But then another thing is to be taken into consideration. The more Protestantism had gained in scientific clearness and caution, the more it had laid aside the old iron armor used by the warriors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in combating the Catholic church. People were humanely disposed; they required tolerance, and gave it in return. While the narrow illuminism in vogue continually blew the war-trumpet against the Pope and the Jesuits, but instigated others,—at first secretly but afterward more openly,—against Christianity itself, quiet science began to appreciate magnanimously what had arisen in connection with the old church, and even what was grand and mighty in antithesis to Protestantism. Thus, for example, John von Müller, the great Protestant historian, considered the papacy, and even the institution of the Order of the Jesuits, from a great and universal point of view; the new speculative philosophy, which sought to unite all antitheses, strove to find in Catholic doctrines and the scholastic theology of the Middle Ages a deeper meaning than existed at the time of the popular skeptical philosophy. Finally art, only partially satisfied by Protestantism, sought to supplement it by Catholicism.

We would not here assert that the historical, philosophical and artistic opinions uttered at that time in favor of the old church were in every respect correct; much can be said on this subject, for the impartiality aimed at was often only partisanship of another kind. But the purely scientific recognition of the other party, the tendency of the age striving to get beyond all partisan zeal, and pressing forward to an unbiased and objective contemplation of things, was, if we consider it impartially, a real gain and progress, though it made safe walking difficult, and easily threw the insecure from their equilibrium.

Looking now at individuals, the motives which led every one of them to the Romish church were various, according to the difference of the persons themselves, their inward necessities, and their outward position. We will not here

speak of the lowest motives of selfishness, the prospect of temporal advantage, and the like; and though Goethe has declared, that in the judgment of the world a stain rests upon every one who changes his religion, we must strive to rise above this common opinion of men. God alone is the judge of the heart. Yet human judgment also perceives steps and differences; there are honorable and less honorable motives; indeed, an apparently opposite inducement often leads to the same step. Thus one might pass over to a different form of faith through indifference, while with another it might be really a matter of conscience. But even the conscience could be disposed and misled from different sides. A purely religious, though misconceived, interest might direct one, and in another the artistic and æsthetic might prevail over the strictly religious, while in a third a politically conservative one might predominate. We find that this really occurred here.

While we clearly see a total indifference in Winckelmann's change, about the middle of the previous century, we find in Stolberg the predominance of a practical religious motive. In Frederick Schlegel, on the other hand, with the religious motive there is also visible the influence of Romanticism, which appeared in the foreground especially in Zechariah Werner in alarming excess and destitute of all moral support. We see Romanticism and politics mixed up in a peculiar manner in Adam Müller, while in Lewis von Haller all the enchantment of Romanticism disappears, and the political side is apparent alone in aristocratic and diplomatic prose. In other words, Winckelmann, in his change, sought a free and undisturbed access to the scientific and artistic treasures of Rome, and a secure outward position; and Stolberg, inward peace and rest for his soul. The Romanticists strove for the realization of their Middle Age ideals, Schlegel aiming at a purer one and Werner at a distorted one; but Müller and Haller sought strongly-established forms for political life, and thus the fulfillment of their peculiar theory of the state. Naturally enough, different elements pervaded one and the same person, though in various degrees of mixture. Let us, therefore, keep these different steps as distinct as we can,

specifying each, but without delaying on all of them at equal length.

We must here go back a few decades to speak of Winckelmann, Lessing's great contemporary, whom we have reserved for the present time. He was not at all connected with the Romantic school, being not only much older than it, but his whole tendency constituting even the most decided counterpart to the later Romanticism. Winckelmann did not live, like the Romantics, in the Middle Ages, but in the ancient view of the world. The classical world of the Greeks was his home, and the age of Pericles his paradise. This was his view before his apostasy, and he kept it afterward; he was not in the least affected by the opposition between Protestantism and Catholicism. He regarded every form of faith as a mere husk, though an indispensable covering for representing itself to other men; but he always looked on it as one which could be changed at will. In order to be able to prosecute his study of antiquity without embarrassment at Rome, he found it most profitable to accommodate himself to the religion prevalent there. "He felt," we read in Goethe's work on Winckelmann and his Century, "that, in order to be a Roman in Rome, it was necessary to become inwardly interwoven with the prevalent life, to enjoy intimate friendship, and of necessity to become a member of the Romish church, to subscribe to its faith and adopt its ceremonies."¹ He therefore entered into negotiations with the papal nuncio, through the confessor of the King of Poland, and renounced the Protestant confession of faith in Dresden, in 1754. He did all this with the greatest indifference; after his return to Protestantism, he even scoffed at the Catholic ceremonies which he had been compelled to perform, with a frivolousness which no well-meaning Protestant would indulge in against a Catholic.²

¹ P. 403.

² He writes as follows in his letters (*Werke*, Vol. IX. p. 109), soon after his apostasy: "I am compelled to eat lenten food three days in the week, because there are some Catholics in the Association who know me. . . . At first, I was ashamed when some heretics who knew me, saw me kneel at mass, but I became bolder; yet nobody would

Indeed, he confessed to his friends, that nothing else than love for the sciences induced him to "change his skin."

As may be easily seen, this sentiment is closely connected with that which had been spread by French and English Deism to Germany, and which controlled many priests and laymen even in the Catholic church, and it can only make a sad impression on us when a man of such high culture could be guilty of such great frivolity. Are we unjust to him if we say that he only changed his Protestant for Catholic heathenism? How different with Stolberg, whose departure from Protestantism is the perfect opposite to that of Winckelmann! That which was easily imitated by the latter, only occurred in the former by hard conflicts; and while a love for Roman and Grecian antiquity led one to this extreme step, in Stolberg, who was also at first a great admirer of antiquity, a breach with classical antiquity took the precedence. Stolberg did not take the way to Rome through heathendom, but through Judaism. The more he was impressed to adore the God of the Old Testament, the God of the patriarchs, of Moses, of David and of the prophets, as the only true God, and to bring all else, everything worldly, and himself, as an offering to Him, the more did it become his principle that, "everything is vanity whose basis and object are not God,"—

see me if I did not hear mass from 11 to 12 o'clock, when there is music. . . . I have a very soft kneeling-leather, which one must have to kneel on *Catholically*, in good grace. . . . I have laid down my fur in winter, but in summer I shall merely use a couple of boxing-gloves for kneeling devoutly. I notice that something is still very necessary for my salvation. When I would make the cross with my right hand, the left hand comes forward, to the great offence of those near me. . . . I was ashed over on Ash-Wednesday; I trembled through fear of covering my head wrongly, lest the holy filth should be smeared almost into my mouth. I have also confessed anew many beautiful things, which are better said in Latin than in my mother-tongue. . . . I was enjoined to pray seven Pater Nosters and as many Ave Marias. You see that the holy church is a very good mother. Unluckily, I cannot pray the Ave Marias, and need not pray the Pater Nosters, owing to the fashion even for Bohemians. Won't I soon make fun for you by becoming a Catholic?"

the living God of revelation, the God of the Bible,—and the more did he feel it necessary to serve this God in such a way as seemed only possible to him, under existing circumstances, in the Romish church. The ground for this phenomenon must be sought in the events of his life.

Frederick Leopold, Count Stolberg, was born in Bramstädt, Holstein, in 1750, and received an orthodox Lutheran training. He studied in Göttingen, and there united with that poetical club which, known by the name of the Grove Club, paved the way in German literature for Schiller and Goethe. Hölty, Bürger, Voss, with Christian, the elder brother of Stolberg, were its members. Here Stolberg revelled in the ideas of political freedom. During a Swiss tour in 1775 he made Lavater's acquaintance, with whom he was ardently prepossessed. He wrote to Claudius the following enthusiastic utterances on the impression produced upon him by Lavater as a man, as the head of a family, as a member of society, and as a preacher:

"When my imagination is wearied by the enjoyments of travel, and would like to rest out, I enter the home of Lavater. I always feel happy just as soon as I cross the threshold of this beloved house. Inward peace, calm and blissful enjoyment, have often filled my soul even before I saw him, when his happy and prattling children ran to meet me, or when I saw his devoted, mild and amiable wife through the half-opened door of the adjoining room. And when I saw the man himself, and when he embraced all three of us with hearty love in his arms—! Oh, my dear Claudius, you must see him for yourself! Burning tears stream from my eyes upon this sheet, and I am in want of proper words to speak of Lavater; yet I will stammer out something about him, because you, too, love him so dearly. . . . His heart gains on me as I become more intimately acquainted with his talents,—his heart, which is inflamed with zeal and sweet tolerance, which can throw itself open to many friends, and to every one as if he were the only one! . . . He is always as simple as a child, and yet how great, overflowing, bold, free, full of heroic courage, pure in his untarnished

feelings! . . . When he relaxes in the intimate circle of a few friends, and the flames of his genius and the outpouring of his noble heart ravish his listeners; when he lightens up the lowest depths and their every recess by the quickness, power and splendor of his perception; when he observes in ordinary objects a thousand new and interesting phases; when he piles thought upon thought and flash upon flash; . . . or when he leads a friend in the confidential evening hour to the roof of his house, and becomes silently blissful by the last beams of the setting sun resting on the rosy, snow-clad peaks, and this bliss then flows from his lips into the heart of his friend—! Oh, my Claudius, when he sweetly ravishes himself and his friends to such feelings, one's soul hangs upon those lips, from which language flows like honey! You go home with the composure and bliss which that one had who said, that he 'always left Plato's banquet with a fuller soul!'"¹

I have purposely communicated this passage, because I believe that it gives us a better view of Stolberg's feeling at that time than any general remarks could present. Stolberg was so much a man of feeling that he mixed the sensuous and fantastical, and he must therefore have felt more inwardly related to the sensitive Lavater, Pfenninger, Claudius, and others, than to the more coldly-thinking and critical Voss. The latter took it very hard when Stolberg, in a letter in which he speaks of Lavater so "impassionately and bombastically," sent no salutation to him, the "man of reason."²

Stolberg was married in 1782 to Agnes von Witzleben, who died six years afterward, and left behind a son and three daughters. About this time Voss went to Eutin, and there the old friendship formed at the university was renewed, not-

¹ *Deutsches Museum*, 1776, Vol. I. p. 42 ff. He speaks with equal enthusiasm of Lavater's sermons; the passage deserves to be re-read.

² See his work: *Wie ward Fritz Stolberg ein Unfreier?*, in the *Sophron-izon*, 1819. No. 3. p. 9.—Voss observes, that Lessing, who was at that time in Hamburg, already perceived the worm-hole in the premature genius. And, indeed, the "sweet self-ravishment" is somewhat offensive to a healthy and vigorous taste, but the whole stream of enthusiasm must not be regarded poisonous because of this muddy tributary.

withstanding the diversity of sentiment. According to Voss's own assurance, Agnes reigned as an angel of peace between the friends who thought and felt so differently. Soon after her death the French Revolution broke out, for the ideas of which Stolberg had been at first very enthusiastic, but which he soon afterward exchanged for a different view. He was afraid that his future might not be prosperous. We lay aside the question, whether he changed his political opinions because his position with the monarchy and the nobility was endangered. But after all that we know about his religious conflicts, it seems hard to assert that a merely wounded pride of nobility drove him into the Catholic church. Stolberg, meanwhile, became the royal Danish Ambassador at Berlin, and in 1790 he married the Countess Sophia von Redern. In the spring of 1791 he made a journey to Italy in company with his second wife, as Voss imagines, not on account of the beauties of art, but of the Romish worship, whose sensuous symbolism had been praised in a song by even Lavater.¹ He took the road leading through Münster, where he spent two days and a half in the house of the Princess Galitzin, that distinguished German lady who, having renounced the world, and the philosophy of Voltaire and Diderot, became a scholar of the Christian philosopher Hemsterhuis,² and who was continually led further into the nature of Catholic Christianity by association with Minister Fürstenberg and some Catholic clergymen.

Meanwhile, it is well to bear in mind that Roman Catholic Christianity, with its outward righteousness of works and its dead ordinances, was less fostered in the Münster circles than that Christianity of feeling which was connected with German Mysticism, which was regarded by many people of

¹ Poem addressed to Sarasin and Pfeffel, 1781. See end of Lecture

² Francis Hemsterhuis (born 1720, † 1790), a Protestant thinker of refined feeling, who has been called the Plato of the 18th century. He dedicated a number of his works to the Princess under the name of Diotima. On the powerful impression which the Princess, who excelled in intellectual culture all the contemporaries of her sex, made on every intellectually great man, comp. *Life of Perthes* (Edinb. Ed.), p. 72 ff.

that day as Pietism. It was the Christianity of Lavater, Hamann and Claudius, though it had a Catholic coloring, and comprised membership with the Catholic church.¹ These Münster impressions seem to have taken a far deeper root in Stolberg than the Romish ones, though the pomp of the Catholic church may have also contributed in bribing the imagination of the poet, which was susceptible of such impressions.

If Stolberg had never been in Rome, the Münster friends would have exerted the same influence over him. He henceforth remained in union with these German Catholic friends. The view of Christianity proceeding from and reacting upon the heart, as it was there fostered, continued to predominate in him over the purely rational; and one could sooner say that he was more overpowered by Pietistic than Catholic views. His zeal expressed itself with increasing strength, not so much against Luther and the Reformation of the sixteenth century as against the Protestantism of the eighteenth, and the skeptical tendencies of his day. Indeed, before he became a Catholic he was rather an orthodox Lutheran. He proved this by opposing with all his power the introduction of a Rationalistic ritual in Holstein. In sentiment he united with Kleuker, whom we are already acquainted with as one of the few theologians of the day who believed in revelation, and whom Voss unjustly calls "a dark head." We cannot suppose that Stolberg was at that time a Catholic at heart, and that his zeal for orthodox Lutheranism was merely hypocritical; otherwise Claudius, Lavater, Hamann, Kleuker, and

¹ We find different expressions on the Princess and her friends in the *Correspondence between Goethe and F. H. Jacobi*. Thus Goethe writes of her (December 1st, 1785): "She is a precious soul, and I am not surprised that she is so attractive to men." Jacobi, on the other hand (1794), says: "Her literalness and pressure have always made my life seem morose when in her company. There is now added the most miserable Catholic Pietism, which she would like to make tolerant against its own nature. Too bad for the glorious being with a truly princely spirit, which strives to be perfectly sincere and yet never can be fully so! Her prejudices deceive her, corrupt her eye, her ear and her tongue, in a way I cannot understand."

even Jacobi and many others, who preferred a pious Catholic who was enthusiastic for his religion to a merely negative Protestant, must pass as secret Catholics. And they did pass for such with many persons. But while they, with their sentiments, remained firm to the Protestant church, Stolberg could not occupy this point of view. He felt isolated in the turmoil. Thus he was drawn over to the church which he regarded as a continuation and completion of God's covenant with man in the Old Testament. The representation of a visible theocracy on earth became to him an historical necessity. His formal apostasy occurred in Münster in 1800.

The step was disapproved most decidedly not only by Voss, who little knew how to transfer himself to the religious thinking and feeling of his former Göttingen friend, and who, with all his psychology, very unpsychologically attributed it all to the pride of nobility, which he so much hated, and to papal schemes, but also by the men who had formerly shared with him the same tendency of feeling, particularly by Lavater, whom he highly esteemed, and who respected him highly in return. It was also done by Jacobi. Jacobi attributes it to a mixture of passions, at which hell bursts out in scornful laughter; and even Lavater came out in strong language against his friend.¹ Stolberg bitterly complains that Jacobi, who had opened his house to the atheistical Fichte, closed it to him. And Jacobi really declared that Stolberg's presence would kill him. But just these men who knew the full meaning of true religious life, as active in Stolberg, were all the more irritated when Stolberg gave them to understand, by entering the Catholic church, that they themselves had stopped half way on the road to salvation, or when he helped to strengthen anew the long-entertained suspicion, that they themselves would, after all, make proselytes for Rome, and were even in secret harmony with the Catholics. As for this suspicion, we may ask: with what right was it entertained? It is true that Lavater had many friends among the Catholics, men who suited his heart better than the negative minds in the Protestant world; but Lavater distinguished between *ideal* and *Roman*

¹ Comp. the passages in *Gelzer*, p. 106 ff.

Catholicism, and prized the elevation of the former as much as he despised the arrogance and intolerance of the latter.

But how came Jacobi, who was related to positive Christianity even as a skeptic, to pass for a secret Catholic? He had, however, injured his position among the skeptics by his lengthy and undue attachment to a man who was justifiably suspected of secretly entertaining Catholic views. This was Stark, the Lutheran Chief Court Preacher in Darmstadt, whose anonymous work, *Theodule's Feast*, had aimed at the union of the Christian religious parties, and in which undue concessions were made to Catholicism. He was said to have renounced the Protestant confession of faith in Dresden (according to some, in the Church of St. Sulpice, in Paris), and yet remained outwardly a Protestant preacher until his death. After his death, in 1816, there was found in his house a room perfectly arranged for reading the mass, and he himself wished to be buried in consecrated ground. Now this would undoubtedly be a proof that, though the skeptics sometimes carry their Jesuitical suspicions too far, and even persecute many an innocent one with the very intolerance which they reproach in their opponents, their apprehensions were not altogether unfounded. And therefore even Voss's bitterness against Stolberg may be excused on the score of his Protestant zeal. But Stolberg, even after joining the Catholic church, had less zeal for Romish forms and popish ordinances than a warm and impressive commendation of positive Biblical Christianity and of a faith active in love.

A beautiful evidence of this feeling is furnished by the Dedication to his sons and daughters, in the year 1806, at the commencement of his *History of the Religion of Jesus Christ*, from which I will make some extracts. That controlling principle which Stolberg had adopted even before becoming a Catholic, that "everything is vanity whose basis and object are not God" (and no one can unite with Voss in calling it Jesuitical), pervades this Dedication.¹ "Love for God

¹ We do not deny that the principle may be interpreted Jesuitically in *majo rem Dei gloriam*; but in itself it is as anti-Jesuitical as possible, and as thoroughly Protestant as any declaration of a Protestant sym-

is our destiny, and we should love ourselves in God. That which misses its destiny turns out badly. The natural man anticipates this bad state, but he does not understand it; therefore all presumed blessings leave him empty, though they seem to him very fine. . . . Neither man nor any rational creature can find rest except in God, and in the hope of enjoying God eternally. Because man is alienated from God by sin, he acts contrary to his original destiny, and immediately feels inward dissatisfaction. We very properly call it conscience. Man knows, even without being taught, that his inward nature is disordered by sin; and if he would deny it, his blush would accuse him of falsehood. In addition to conscience, God also reveals himself to us in nature, but the history of all ages teaches us how little men regarded these revelations. They abused nature, and bowed before the creature, and, to deceive their conscience, they surrendered their own wicked lusts to idols. But God has also revealed himself immediately to men since the origin of the species. No sooner had man fallen from him than his compassion went out after him; the religion of Jesus Christ was his consoling and sanctifying companion, . . . whose promise was his guiding-star through the Old Testament. Its appearance brought us day, and in its light we should walk.

"The religion of Jesus Christ teaches us to perceive God; by it God invites us to love him, and by it he invites us to eternal salvation. If we would heed this invitation, we must believe the religion of Jesus Christ. . . . The misery of our nature lies in our diseased will, and our salvation lies in the recovery of our will. Our will is in our heart, and therefore God speaks to the heart. The religion of Jesus Christ is a proposition for marriage, a wooing of love. The holy fear of God not only does not exclude love, but leads to love; it is a filial fear ever connecting itself more with love. The true and holy fear of God excludes the fear of everything which is not God, gives heroic courage toward every

bol. Does not the whole Protestant doctrine of sin rest on the natural man's loving other objects better than God? Comp. Art. I. of the *Apology of the Augsbur. Confession*.

creature, and fears only Him. . . . No one has ever attained to godliness without the fear of God; it educates the soul, as the law was the school-master of the chosen people.

“And what shall we say of love, whose idea alone gives religion? . . . What can appear desirable, beautiful and good, which the religion of Jesus Christ does not afford? Do you strive after joy? It gives eternal bliss, whose hope even here on earth far outweighs all the joys and sufferings of time. After long life? It gives immortality. After rest? It alone gives rest on earth, amid the storms of life, . . . and therefore rest hereafter. After peace? The salutation with which the Lord will bless his followers will be: ‘Peace be with you!’ What is the peace of this world? The Son of God gives true peace. Do you strive after friendship? Where is it safer, more hearty, and more enduring than among the followers of the Beloved One, who strive without envy after but one object, and who gain by the sympathy of each other? Where does the holy love of one get inflamed by that of another? Do you strive after greatness? What is greater than the adoption of God? After power? Is not he who wishes what God wishes, the participant, in a certain measure, of his omnipotence? After freedom? The Gospel is the perfect law of liberty. After wisdom? It is only the wisdom of religion which deserves the name. After virtue? What virtue does not the religion of Jesus Christ teach and impart? It is pure virtue, because exercised for God’s sake; it is safe, because led by the hand of sweet humility, that daughter of religion, who, though despised by the world, has a heavenly feeling, and though regarded cowardly, has the boldness of a lion, because it relies with filial confidence only on God’s strength, and is strong in his strength. Do you strive after love? The whole spirit of this religion is love; it is a love of which men would have had no conception without it. In it love is the bond of perfectness. All the virtues which it teaches are established by it on the love of God; all the virtues which it imparts, proceed from love for God. . . . What vital breath of love pervades the whole of the New Testament! All religion is

only one bond of the eternal love of believers among each other, with God, in Jesus Christ."

This may suffice to give us an idea of Stolberg's Christian feelings after he became a Catholic. You will have observed here the same views that we perceived in Hamann, Claudius, and Lavater; which have been found among the adherents of positive Christianity in all ages, and which the Protestant can and must accept as well as the Catholic, if he would not lapse into empty negation. Stolberg explains these views, in the same Dedication to his children, as the one thing needful; and though he also gives vent to strong expressions against the prevailing philosophy and the usurpation of reason, etc., they, like similar utterances that have ever been heard in the Protestant church, proceed from the standpoint of a one-sided Supernaturalism. No where in the whole Dedication, which we have gone through carefully, do we find anything strictly Roman Catholic, or any mention of the power of the pope, of hierarchy, of the sacrifice of the mass, of ceremonies, and the like; and still less is there a trace of the outward righteousness of works and of the merit of good works, or of the condemnation of heretics. The only thing which betrays even very gently the Catholic, is a passage in which we read: "The temple which truly Christian faith erects, stands unshaken in its simplicity and grandeur before the eyes of the world. Divine record and holy tradition unite in the highest curve of the stone-arches that support it. Its high vault opens to the light of heaven, which illuminates some parts of the temple, and leaves some consecrated halls in holy twilight. The fire of heaven kindles the flame of devotion on the altar, and holy prayer rises in the smoke of incense. It is only in this temple that we are instructed on our true mission" (p. xix). This undoubtedly expresses sympathy with the "only saving church," but the idea of which is so indefinite and loose that we might think of the church in general, of the invisible fellowship of believers, of tradition, which is mentioned with the Bible, and the smoke of incense, which can hardly be allegorically designed, did not refer more definitely to the Roman Catholic church.

It is therefore clear to us from the foregoing, that the substance of Stolberg's faith remained the same after he became a Catholic as before; he only believed that this substance could be sustained safely only in the Catholic church. And herein lay his error. He knew that he was in possession of the blessing of faith, which his Protestant friends enjoyed with him; but he, strongly believing that the same Power which had rebuked the wind and the waves would still display its salvation, thought that this blessing could only be saved from ruin by being brought on board of the great ship, while they continually committed it to the vessel which had become weak on the storm-tossed waves. Stolberg's error therefore consisted essentially in misconceiving the vital power still contained in Protestantism. His Münster friends, supported by the many experiences which, however, they narrowly brought into the account, had persuaded him that "Protestantism will continue to protest until it protests from the princes their kingdom, and from God his divinity; that it is a succession of ciphers without any unit standing before them." And, as if the Romish unit were the only one, he united with this communion, not delaying to think how much else he had to take into the bargain in order to be sure of his gain. But while other apostates placed chief emphasis on the Roman forms, this was less the case with Stolberg.¹ He manifests the Romantic sympathies of the Middle Ages much less than Novalis, who outwardly continued in the Protestant church. Likewise the Romantic poetry is innocent of Stolberg's apostasy, for, as a poet, he belonged to that Göttingen school which sought its models in the ancient classics.

But let us turn now to those with whom the influence of

¹ Even in Stolberg's *Church History* proper, a very decided influence of Roman Catholicism is but slightly perceptible. The portion by himself only comes down to the fifth century, when Roman Catholic life first began to develop in its broadest scope. He introduces into his account the whole of the Old Testament, and, of course, sees in the Levitical service the original of the Romish, etc. But, on the whole, Biblical Supernaturalism is even predominant here. Comp., on this point, W. von Humboldt's *Briefe an eine Freundin*, Vol. II. pp. 91, 101.

Romanticism is more definite, and is especially expressed in a preference for the forms of the Middle Ages,—to the men who even helped to establish and extend the Romantic school itself. If we purposed writing a history of literature, we should have to treat elaborately here the brothers Schlegel and Tieck. But we shall speak only of those who really went out from this school into the Catholic church, Frederick Schlegel and Zechariah Werner. "Schlegel unquestionably stands far above Werner. He is superior to him in mind, culture, judgment, and moral and religious stability. In Schlegel, with all his great service in literature, the moral errors of Romanticism are presented in most striking colors, for the author of *Lucinde* was really the leader of that morality which disregarded all the limitations of so-called convenience, a system which paved the way for the emancipation of the flesh; but we would be unjust to him to bring into immediate connection with this tendency his becoming a Catholic, which occurred in Vienna in 1808. Rather, from that time his life became more serious.

What really moved him to take this step? This question was asked at that time, but there was no definite answer. Zelter thus writes to Goethe: "Schlegel has suddenly grown wise. The 'only-saving' church has caught a good fish in him; but yet I am provoked that I ever thought anything of him. What could have caused him to take this step? In this case, one thing has deceived the other in clear sunlight."¹ This much is certain: that a predilection for the Middle Ages and their models had more influence upon Schlegel than upon Stolberg. Schlegel, even after his apostasy, adhered to his scientific and literary life with his full power. With all his extensive knowledge and profound researches in art and antiquity, how could he have done differently? A tendency toward stupidity and darkness, which has often been charged passionately enough upon the apostates, is less noticeable in him; but it is clear that in his *Wisdom of the Indians* he made references to the Catholic faith, but that in his *Lectures on Literature*, which he delivered in Vienna, he lauded the

¹ *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I. p. 223 f.

times of the Middle Ages as the palmy period, and, like Novalis, represented the Reformation as not only an apostasy from the faith, but from true poetry and art. Yet he has a higher and more honest opinion of Luther than Novalis had. While the latter charges the Protestants with canonizing Luther's translation of the Bible, Frederick Schlegel acknowledges "the unmistakable merit" of this masterpiece.¹ Schlegel sees also in Luther's own writings such an eloquence as seldom in the course of centuries appears in any nation in equal power. He calls this eloquence revolutionary, but the soul from which it flowed was "manly, strong through God and nature, and richly endowed." He does not see empty darkness in Luther, but a struggle between light and darkness, an impregnably strong faith and wild passion.

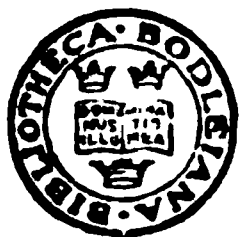
Yet Schlegel confesses that Luther's writings produce on him the impression of the pity we have when we see how a grand and lofty nature is ruined by its own folly, and consigns itself to destruction. But he can understand that others look at the matter differently, and even believes that Luther, in respect to his power, is not worthily appreciated even by his admirers. He declares him the man whose duty it was, and on whose soul the burden was laid, to develop his times; the man of the age and nation who decided everything. "Luther," Schlegel continues, "was a very popular writer. No country in modern Europe except Germany has ever had such remarkable, comprehensive, and effective popular writers, who were extraordinary because of their intellectual power."

Schlegel wrote this when a Catholic, and we may feel proud of this testimony. He speaks with the same appreciation of the poetic minstrel Hans Sachs, and of the Teutonic philosopher Jacob Boehme, whom he places very high, next to Schelling. Schlegel strove to build up his Catholicism scientifically, and also to be as just as possible to other forms of religion. He ingeniously distinguishes in the history of the world four powers, which bind together and move human society: 1. The power of money and trade, which he calls the guild. 2. The power of the sword, both the military and

¹ See *Vorlesungen über Litteratur*, p. 246.

the legal; this he calls the state. 3. The gracious power of divine consecration (on which are based all kinds of priesthood and every religious association), which alone affords inward peace and gives the higher sanction to outward peace. This higher intellectual life is fostered and developed in the church, whose holy and universal bond reunites the nations politically sundered, and in time will join the later generations to the former. 4. The fourth power is science, or the school, which is now united more intimately with the state and now with the church, or, finally, is led into dependence on worldly power, and is thus made subservient to industrial purposes.

It is very natural that Schlegel should find happiness just in the union of science with the church, and in the dependence of the school on the church, and that from this point of view he can see in the forms of science that arose independently of the church, and therefore in the new Protestant science, nothing less than a decline from rectitude. But like Novalis, he also expects an age when the German spirit shall help to supremacy Christian philosophy, which will not be established like a sect, but must mature like a living tree through the root of revelation acknowledged to be divine. When this light of the highest knowledge, from which history and mythology, languages and natural sciences, poetry and art, are only the single beams, shall have dawned, Frederick Schlegel hopes that the pantheism still lurking here and there in natural philosophy will totally disappear; that a new vital breath will be breathed into art, and that the higher intellectual poetry of the truth, which reflects in the earthly husk the word of the soul, will take the place of the false phantasmagoria. We find what Schlegel thus expressed in his Lectures, briefly and beautifully comprised in one of his poems in the following words:



"Ne'er call him spiritual
In whom the Spirit's light shines not.
Faith's bright guiding-star is knowledge,
And worship is wisdom's substance;
Thou may'st teach and learn all science,
But if thou wantest feeling's power
And the heart's fervent emotion,

Soon sinks thy wisdom to the dust.
Thou see'st nothing more beautiful
Than when these two go hand in hand:
The bright sunlight of great wisdom,
And the calm duty of the Church."

Now if we regard the church here to be the church of Christ, and understand the proposition to be simply that faith and knowledge must ever pervade each other, we, as Protestants, may adopt it. We cannot conceal the fact, that in Schlegel's ideas there is something witty, considerate, and beneficially inciting. What floats in Novalis in obscure feelings, comes out here in definite form, and just because Schlegel, with all the influence which he granted his creative imagination, does full justice to the understanding, he is also fair in his estimate of the church on which he turned his back.

Comparing Schlegel with Stolberg, we find that the latter wrongly sought in the Catholic church the simple Biblical Christianity which he could have in Protestantism, while Schlegel had in view rather formal ecclesiasticism, Catholicism in its full development. But we must concede that Schlegel takes a grand view of this ecclesiasticism, and though Stolberg grants more expression to the pious and honest spirit, Schlegel is evidently more spirited and skillful in the deduction of his Catholic system. Stolberg seems to us to be more led by others, to be consigned to a foreign circle from which he could not any more escape,¹ while Schlegel freely controls his thoughts and knows just what he desires. But for this very reason his example has operated more seductively than that of Stolberg, but the charm of witticism and piquancy depends upon it. We cannot deny that Schlegel's view, with all its Catholic tendency, rests upon a profounder conception of the relations of history and of life; and we must regard the root as sound, though the branches have spread out in a wrong direction.

Often in the history of the growth of Protestantism, we

¹ In this respect he certainly became bound. But it may be asked: whether there are not many slaves who follow the standard of the men of freedom?

have been compelled to lament that faith and knowledge, which strengthened and supported each other during the Reformation, were afterward sundered; and we believe that the religion of Christ in its historical definiteness, but always in a manner appropriate to the necessities of the times, is the bond which must unite the state and the family, and science and art, if a truly prosperous life is to arise. Yet this would not so take place that the Christian type of every individual phenomenon of life must be impressed in the same way, but so that nothing unchristian obtrude itself, and that nothing which intrenches upon the development of the whole, directly deny the Christian character. But we do not renounce the hope that this moral mission of our age to oppose these perverted tendencies, will be realized just in our Protestant church. It will be fulfilled in proportion as the nature of Protestantism is perceived in all its depth and historical meaning as a power which not merely clears up and illuminates, but also edifies and preserves from downfall; as a power in unison with that of divine truth, with that of the Divine Word, by which God will sustain us amid all the changes of human opinions, inclinations and systems.

A PROTESTANT'S FEELINGS IN A CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY LAVATER.

Who knows Thee not yet, Jesus Christ,
And dishonors only Thy shade,
Commands my profoundest respect,
Because of the effort he's made.
Though his work be fable and dream,
To Thy glory it hath been wrought;
Though it grieve my heart most keenly,
It shall be loved,—Christ's glory it sought.
Though faint the trace, dear it shall be,
Because it brings Thee near to me.

I will not laugh, but rather weep;—
Let him here loudly laugh who can,—
But for the small he drops the great,
Obscures the true, and holds the vain.
To detect the true in the false,

To grasp it and to feel its power,
Lifting us from the depth of sin,
Is high joy, of triumph the hour.
Weak brethren are ye around me,
Who will not bend to Christ the knee!

What is it that mine eyes behold?
What is it that mine ears now hear?
Speaks nought of Thee in heaven above,
Nor in these lovely vales so dear?
The cross—Thine image clad in gold—
Was it not formed to honor Thee?
The censer, swinging right and left,
The strains of choral minstrelsy,
The taper's silent, ceaseless flame,
All mean the glory of Thy Name.

For what, except to praise Thy name,
The death of Christ, the death of Love,
Do priestly hands uplift the host?
Thou still art here though still above.
To Thee the thronging multitude
Bend low. The young and early taught
Revere the cross, and sing the song
To Him who every soul hath bought,
And smite,—seeking heavenly rest,—
With tender hand the heaving breast.

For Thee the people kiss in love
The crucifix—its painted wounds.—
For Thee the choir-boy rings his bell,
The sexton makes his ceaseless rounds.
The heavy folds of priestly vests,
The gathered wealth of distant climes,
The scroll-work on the brave knight's shield,
The frame where Mary's picture rests,
The string of pearls on Worship's hand,
Mean Christ,—the Peerless in the land.

To whom, on marble altars high,
And noble walls, are green boughs hung?
Whom do men praise in choral lays;
To whom do mourners offer vows;
To whom are flowers strewn along;
For whom are gilded banners made?
And when Ave Maria sounds,
Is not to Thee such worship paid?

At matin and at vesper time,
Is not each worship-whisper Thine?

The bells within ten thousand spires,
Bought by the wealth of many a lord,
And given to Thee in festive song
To save from pest, from War's red sword,
Were made to take—a fluid mass—
Thine image in the cross they bear.
And now they ply their great life-work,
Calling to labor and to prayer:—
Does not the bell, at every peal,
Declare Thy care for human weal?

O Christ, dear Friend, full many a one
Expects Thine aid, believes Thee true,
Longs for the solitary hours,
Makes himself poor his whole life through.
Without Thyself there ne'er had been
Nor tonsure nor the Pater Noster,
Nor Benedict nor Bernhard bands,
Nor chapel, choir, nor silent cloister.
To whom but Thee, for all who come,
Stands o'er cell-door: *Silentium*?

O Christ, what joy have Thy children,
Even where graces are absent,
To see the traces of Thy hand
Where no human eye is present!
Blessed indeed be the good souls
Who see in each cavern and hill,
In each crucifix on the road,
In every street-corner the seal—
However unused be that seal—
Of Thy truth and Thy blessed will!

Who does not enjoy each honor
Of which Thou art the Soul and the Aim?
From whose eyes do swift tears not flow
In praise, Jesus Christ, to Thy name?
Curses on him who withholdeth
From Christ the real tribute of praise;
Who does not shout the glad Amen,
As on Christ he fixes his gaze;
And gladly says, "For evermore,
Let every soul Christ's name adore!"

LECTURE XVI

ZECHARIAH WERNER.—ADAM MÜLLER AND HALLER.—FREDERICK HURTER.—THE NEW FLIGHT OF PROTESTANTISM THROUGH SCHLEIERMACHER.—HIS MONOLOGUES AND DISCOURSES ON RELIGION.

Though in the last lecture we by no means attempted to justify the apostasy of Stolberg and Frederick Schlegel to the Roman Catholic church, but yet to account for the hazardous position in which the Protestantism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had partially placed itself; and though the personality of those two men was still pleasing in a high degree even after they had dissolved their union with our church, the apostasy of Zechariah Werner, on the other hand, awakens rather feelings of pity than of elevated sympathy and respect. We here meet with a man who, though endowed with great talents, was ruined by Romanticism, or rather by his own whims mixed up with Romanticism, and even by his moral and religious fickleness. It must at least be clear to every one that his apostasy to Catholicism was nothing else than a spiritual declaration of bankruptcy, the clambering up of a shipwrecked mariner on the last broken spar.

We have placed Werner with Frederick Schlegel as one of those who apostatized to the Romish church from a Romantic and poetical interest, and from a predilection for the forms of the Middle Ages; but there is a world-wide difference between the two. What we find in Schlegel connected with a spiritual direction peculiar to him, and working through

the pantheism of the natural philosophy to Christian philosophy, we see in Werner gushing more through an obscure impulse which controlled his whole life, and which proves that it was supported at the same time by that immoderate levity and effeminate sensuousness and exuberance which appear so often intimately affiliated with common Catholicism. Werner, born in Königsberg on the 18th of November, 1768, was acquainted with the theatrical world from his earliest youth as his own world.¹ His father was the theatrical critic; he died early, and the boy's mother, who is celebrated as a woman of spirit and imagination, had the misfortune to be seriously attacked by melancholy, when she had the settled delusion that she was the Virgin Mary, and that her son was the Savior of the world. Werner is said to have led a dissipated life when a law-student in Königsberg, and also to have yielded to the stream of the current ideas of skepticism and tolerance. He poured out his youthful zeal in his early poems against Superstition and Cant, Intolerance, Proselytism, Bigotry and Sectarianism, and Holy Dumbness and Hypocrisy, —which were the honorable epithets that were at that day frequently applied to a decided confession of Christian faith.

Werner's passionate respect for Rousseau went so far that, instead of dating the year from the first of January, he dated it from the second of July, the day of the great philosopher's death! His life abounds in adventure and marvel. In 1793 he entered the Prussian civil service, and began to appear as a dramatic writer. His *Sons of the Valley* betrayed his propensity to Mysticism, but also indicated decided talents. After living for some time in Warsaw,² he went to Berlin. At the close of the eighteenth century there had convened in that city, which had been the center of Voltaire's skepticism at the time of Frederick the Great, those men who gave rise to a counter-tendency, and from whom a new spiritual life commenced to spread over Germany. This seemed very significant to Werner. He wrote from Königsberg in the year

¹ We follow the *Biographie* by Hitzig. Berlin, 1823. Comp. *Das litterarische Conversationsblatt*, 1827, p. 2.

² Comp. Goethe to Jacobi. *Briefw.*, p. 239.

1801: "God has valued Berlin, this gathering-place of all dust and shallowness, as another Bethlehem, not that a new light might arise in it (for it arose over a hundred years ago), but that it might concentrate in one focus, or still better, to speak Scripturally, that the bushel covering it might be removed." Among these heroes of faith and art he named particularly Fichte, Schleiermacher, Schlegel, and Tieck.

He was especially captivated by Schleiermacher's Discourses on Religion; but, after his fashion of confounding everything, he brought them into intimate connection with Jacob Boehme, who had become his favorite author. He also valued then very highly Wieland, Bürger, Hölty, Ramler, the "very great Klopstock," and Goethe. Subsequently, in the year 1804, he wrote of Goethe: "I regard him as the first German poet, but he is not my God." But he confused everything. "Art and religion, the living sense of the great nearness of nature and the impartial and unpretending outgushing of a pure soul in this pure sea," were the salvation on which he built his hopes. He already confesses that he cannot make much of personal immortality; "but I would like to bathe, dissolve, and flow away into this infinite sea." He calls religion, love and art the Holy Trinity, and then writes further: "I regard Jesus Christ as the only highest master of masonry; masonry, art and religion are intimately connected, religion being the mother, and masonry and fine arts the sisters. Art is not a plaything, but a serious, high-priestly work, and the artist is a high-priest of the Eternal. Egotism is the Antichrist which must be supplanted by religion, art and masonry."

Beside this obscure and confused pantheism there was soon stationed its twin brother, ideal Catholicism, which soon passed over into gross superstition. In 1802, nine years before his formal apostasy, he called ideal Catholicism, which we met with also in Novalis, his idol. He designated Catholicism not only as the greatest masterpiece of human inventive power, preferable to all other Christian and unchristian forms of religion, but openly asserted that, to prevent all European genius and taste for art from going to the devil, we must return to pure Catholicism. He regarded himself as an

apostle of this new religion, and wished that it might have many proselytes. But he did not lose all faith in the power inherent in the Protestant church. He believed that from these fragments the true temple of Catholicism must be built. "There is still," he says, "a Protestantism which is in practice what art is in theory, and which I respect so profoundly that I even place art after it, just as I would place theory after practice." At first he had just as high an opinion of Luther as Frederick Schlegel had. He says: "If, as I daily pray, God would still awaken a Luther for us before the judgment-day, the man would certainly not have anything to do sooner than to protest, in his own somewhat coarse way, against the mongrel of Protestantism substituted for true Protestantism." And here he may have been right.

It is in this light that we now see how Werner, in the year 1806, at a time when he indulged Catholic sympathies, could, in his *Consecration of Strength*, make the author of the Reformation the hero of a drama. And as we look at that work we soon see how much Catholic color appears under the Protestant varnish. Iffland had the play produced in Berlin, but, it seems, without a favorable impression. If we may judge from what Zelter wrote on it to Goethe, many Protestants were offended that the Reformation should be degraded to a subject of mirthful entertainment. "It is not a drama," Zelter pronounces on the piece, "but the parody of a serious and holy ecclesiastical event, which would make itself perfectly plain by becoming profane;"¹ and Goethe seemed to unite in his friend's opinion. When the play was first acted, the police had to take precautions against disturbance; subsequently it was rendered ridiculous by a public procession in Berlin.²

¹ *Briefwechsel*, Vol. I. pp. 227 ff., 238.

² "Some officers of the royal police had a sled built in the Summer (July), with covered wheels, and drove through the streets of the city one night after ten o'clock, with many torches and loud hallooing. Dr. Luther, with an immense flute in his hand, rode in the sled, and his friend Melanchthon sat opposite to him. Catherine von Bora was on the back seat, and cracked a whip as the sled drove through the streets;

After this, Werner traveled. He remained some time in Paris. In Switzerland he made the acquaintance of Madame de Stael, A. W. Schlegel's friend, who pronounces in her work on Germany a very favorable opinion of his talents, and even places him beside Schiller and Goethe. Through the suggestion and instrumentality of this patron, Werner undertook a journey to Italy in November, 1809. This journey, and his long stay there, were decisive for him. He relates in his Journal, that at Naples he attended the festival of St. Januarius, in May, 1810, and that he prayed silently to God that he would perform a miracle for his sake; that he would show him, by the flowing of the blood of this saint at which all the people were intently looking, that the Roman Catholic faith is the only saving one. He had scarcely offered this prayer before the priests and the people exclaimed: "The blood is flowing!" Lively music began to play, and all were transported with ecstatic joy, Werner among the rest. To him the miracle was a certainty, and nothing could afterward lead him from his belief.¹

From this account, as well as from other passages of his Journal, it is plain that Werner had secretly taken the step which he afterward took publicly in Rome, on the 19th of April, 1811. Amid the varied dissipation into which Italian life drew him, and even in the midst of the most sinful practices, which he occasionally lamented but never seriously renounced, we see the fanatical poet heartily taking part in the

she wore an immense trail ten yards long. The nuns of the Augustine Cloister, led by their prioress, and wearing long trails and misshapen masks, rode on horseback, and held torches in their hands. The procession thus went through the streets a number of hours, to the delight of the eager public. Iffland was so offended by this rough sport that he personally complained to the king against the mischief. Consequently, one of the officers was removed from Berlin, and the remaining ones were arrested, and threatened with dismissal if they repeated the performance."

¹ *Tagebuch*, pub. by Schütz, Vol. II. p. 62. (This Journal is an abominable sink of the most filthy and execrable events than can be raked up out of the private life of a base man, of poisoned soul and body. No one can read it without disgust.)

Catholic ceremonies, confessing, communing, and busying himself with Catholic theology. He studied this formally in Rome after his public apostasy, but only privately, lest he might excite attention. Werner did not succeed in seeing the pope in Rome, for the latter was at that time held as a captive by the French Emperor. But this privilege was well supplied by Werner's visit to the house at Loretto, in the year 1813.

In the midst of the military movements going on at that time, he returned to Germany, where he was received, under the protection of the Archbishop of Dalberg, in the Priests' Seminary at Aschaffenburg, in order to become more thoroughly acquainted with the ritual of the Catholic service. On the 16th of June, 1814, in the forty-sixth year of his age, he was consecrated a priest by the archbishop's suffragan; he then went to Vienna, where he appeared as a preacher, particularly in Lent. The Congress was just then in session, and many prominent men attended his church. His bombastic imagination, which often bordered on madness, and of which he has given proofs in his dramatic poems, now shot out its sparks in the pulpit, and attracted many curious persons to hear him. Varnhagen von Ense, who heard him, compares his eloquence to that of Abraham a Santa Clara. He says, that "he developed his grotesqueness in the pulpit more than he had ever done in the drama and in society. He spoke with real pleasure of his personal matters, his sinfulness, his conversion and repentance, and, making hell hot for others, he indulged his vanity in the double view of his former worldly pleasure and present election. He performed real stage tricks, . . . and the aristocratic Viennese and strangers were delighted to find in the church such *haut gout* and sanctity combined with so much that tickled the senses."¹

Thus far with Varnhagen. Werner spent the greater portion of his remaining life either in Vienna or in other parts of Austria, with a short period in Russian Poland. He did not have a strictly clerical appointment, but remained firm until death in his conviction of the saving efficacy of Catholicism.

¹ See *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. V. p. 104.

"Only one thing is left us," he wrote in 1817, "and that is Jesus Christ, and the church which is inseparable from him and established on the eternal rock. . . . Verily, if God should ever take from me his gracious light by making me cease to be a Catholic, I would a thousand times sooner go over to Judaism, or even to the Brahmins on the Ganges, but never, never to the insipid, shallow, contradictory, and empty nullity of Protestantism."

How very different was he from Frederick Schlegel, who, toward the end of his life, thought of again joining the Protestant church, and who, even when he regarded himself farthest removed from it, treated it with great consideration! Besides, Werner's nature was low. While Frederick Schlegel's apostasy to Romanism, as we are assured, gave his life a more serious support, we find no trace of this in Werner's life. Rather, everything here runs together, fanatical Catholicism and extravagant sensuality, single moments of repentance and just as quick and frequent relapses into his old sinful habits. At one time he prays thus: "Oh, let me gain souls, and only make good again what I have lost by the abominable scandal produced by my scribbling!"¹ But soon afterward he is again his former self, and though he subsequently appeared somewhat more honorable as a priest in Vienna, he yet knew quite well how to combine the dissolute life of that city with his religious fancy. It is, in fact, dreadful to look in upon such a life. Yet Werner himself confesses that, in the year 1802, he could not look at his picture without being terrified "at the enervated features of a poor distressed man, who was weakened by all kinds of suffering and joy."

Single events in Werner's life, as the death of his mother, had aroused him momentarily from his sinful slumber even before his so-called conversion, and drew from him tears of repentance; but he never arrived at thorough penitence. He was married and divorced three times before his apostasy. He tells us himself of the misery of his matrimonial alliances. Of his second marriage he writes: "It was a wretched one,

¹ *Tagebuch*, Vol. II. p. 167.

without love or hate." His third wife was a Polonese, who did not know a word of German, while he knew no more of her language. After taking her from their lonely abode in Warsaw to Berlin, he threw himself into the deep stream of Berlin conviviality, surrendered himself utterly to his old theatrical passion, and in two months after his arrival discarded his wife. And yet he dared to write: "I am not a wicked man, but only a weak one in many respects; uneasy, whimsical, avaricious, and impure, . . . always busied with my notions, employments, comedies, and society. She is innocent, and I — perhaps! But I cannot help being what I am." After this confession we must say, that Werner had long been ripe for a church which has its healing-plasters for all sins and injuries, without tracing out seriously, like the evangelical church, the source of the disease. It was now high time to write the Consecration of Weakness, as an atonement for the Consecration of Strength. He now had to call his own life a pest-hole, which should be covered after death lest the living might be infected. Werner died on the 17th of January, 1823, provided with the Catholic sacraments for the dying. In accordance with his wish, he was buried at Engersdorf, in the mountains. A broken lyre was seen upon his tombstone, and the somewhat inappropriate reference to the words of our Lord to the adulteress (Luke vii. 47): "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much: but to whom little is forgiven, the same loveth little."

Werner had applied in his will a certain sum for mass for the rest of his soul, and, as a sign of his sincere repentance, his pen should be laid at the feet of the Holy Mother of God at Mariazell. The broken lyre upon his grave is, in fact, an eloquent symbol of his wrecked poetic life. We would not doubt the honesty of his heart, to which he always appeals, although it was such as was of little aid, as he himself was at last compelled to confess, and therefore it scarcely deserves the name. But the unhappy man seems to have been fully conscious that his head was wrong as well as his heart. "If any one says to you," he wrote to a friend in 1804, and therefore seven years before his apostasy, "that Werner was

a fool, he tells the truth; but if some malignant fellow-citizen writes to you that Werner is or was a knave, he lies."

We now gladly turn away from a character which placed itself in the sad alternative of folly or knavery, and we will not long delay with the other apostates from Protestantism.

According to my remark in the last lecture, there is still a special class left us to consider. I mean those who apostatized through political sympathies, believing that the old aristocracy, or the one-sided conservatism and stability, were best protected by Catholicism. To these belong Adam Müller of Berlin and our fellow-citizen Lewis von Haller, the former of whom was an adherent of the Romantic school and a friend of Frederick Schlegel.¹ As, however, the great political changes produced by the French Revolution have not yet been mentioned, we could not consider the attempts at political restoration, and, besides this, the political field is foreign to our plan. The religious ideas from which these political restorations proceeded were essentially the same as in Schlegel and Stolberg, except that more originality was perceptible in Adam Müller, while Haller was confined to such trivial Catholic politics as we are accustomed to down to the present day. We would also attach no weight to the fact that, as a substitute for the apostates, some literary notability here and there came over from the Romish church to our own. In this case we should have to pay attention to Ignatius Fessler, with whom Werner, who was friendly with him for some time, thought that he stood in a special spiritual relation because of Catholicism. Fessler, after an "outwardly unsettled and fragmentary" life, after many inward conflicts, left the Capuchins, then the Catholic church itself, then created great attention for awhile in free-masonry,

¹ Frederick Hurter, former Bishop of Schaffhausen, has since taken his place with these. Comp. Schenkel, *Die confessionellen Zerwürfnisse in Schaffhausen und Friedr. Hurter's Uebertritt zur römisch-katholischen Kirche* (Basle, 1844), and Hurter's own work: *Geburt und Wiedergeburt*. (Schaffhausen, 1846). Gfrörer, Florencourt and the Countess Ida Hahn-Hahn followed him; and how many are still found either half-way or all the way to Rome!

and, finally, as a Russian Superintendent and as a friend of the Moravians, exercised on the Protestant church of Russia an influence which has been diversely estimated.¹ But we will not delay longer with individuals, who can only prove to us what vacillations must take place amid the uncertainty and untenableness of the prevailing views.

It was high time for Protestantism to take a new spiritual flight, for its separated energies to unite into one power, and for this still existing and only sundered force of evangelical truth to come again to consciousness. Since the time of Herder, in whom Protestant spiritual life appeared vigorous, positive, and yet liberal and clear, we have seen but few distinguished theologians taking part in the great train of the development of ideas. We do not mean that there were no discerning, learned, and thinking theologians, no eloquent preachers, or no pious and faithful pastors. Though they existed, they were only isolated cases. The theological professors in the universities taught their science, but mostly without a vital relation to the church; there was learned controversy on rational and revealed faith, but only little interest was taken in the subject by the general, and even the cultivated, public. The people were only brought into a certain degree of union with ecclesiastical life by some celebrated pulpit-orators, such as Reinhard, Marezoll, Ammon, Dräseke, Hanstein and others: but the philosophers and poets of the nation paid more attention to the daily necessities of the mind than to the preachers, who were only heard on Sunday. The former increasingly acquired controlling influence over public thought, and for this reason we have been compelled to dwell longer upon them than upon the theologians.

But it now became impossible for theology to be kept longer aloof from the most recent culture. In philosophy it dare not remain stagnant in the Kantian period, nor look idly at the great flight of ideas produced by Schelling's natural philosophy, by Goethe's philosophy of life, and by Romanticism; it was compelled to assume toward them some

¹ We refer to his attractive Autobiography: *Rückblicke auf eine siebenzigjährige Pilgerschaft*. Berlin, 1824.

attitude, either hostile or friendly. Though it might be judiciously antagonistic, it dare not rest with mere opposition; it was required to examine the thoughts of its opponent. What Gervinus had said of Romanticism, that it called learned men out under the open heavens, applied of necessity to the theologians.¹ They dared not remain any longer in their rooms, or go from them to the lecture-hall and pulpit, and then hasten back to their books again; they had to go out into the open air, where God's theologians first belonged of right, and where Herder had uttered his words of invocation on the ship.² They could not ask any longer, even though with a great deal of learning, whether this or that Scriptural reading was authentic, or this or that interpretation the right one. They must, indeed, do this more thoroughly than before; but they had to look from the Bible into the heart, though not into the heart as they, in their theological manner, constructed it theoretically and abstractly, but into the common heart—the heart of the times. They had to feel the pulse, and to know clearly and definitely what the times desired, what they should be, and how their wants could be met.

Every one who compared the first decades of the nineteenth century with the last ones of the eighteenth, if he would look out from his cell into life, upon the wild play of angry storms, could not help observing that the merely skeptical rage was passed, that even in the extravagant tendencies an earnest longing for what was positive, spiritually refreshing and quickening, came to light, and that there was a striving to get out of the narrow circles in which thought had previously ranged, into an infinite territory, which was divined by many far more than they could express in words or clearly conceive. What had been lauded in 1770 and 1780 as new, had now become antiquated; but people were not so fully determined on what to substitute for it. Yet this much was agreed upon: the great necessity of not a mere restoration, but of a thoroughly new life, a creation of the mind. This new creation led partly back again to remote antiquity and to the past centuries; and even the Middle Ages, that had

¹ See Lecture XIV.

² See Lecture III. pp. 42, 43.

been decried by illuminism, had to contribute their share toward strengthening and quickening the mind. But with all this use of antiquity and of the Middle Ages, people still had to say, that "old things are passed away; behold all things are become new!" A believing age should return, and yet it must not be just exactly the old orthodox one, however much the latter might gain friends and admirers. Dead learning should rise to living scientific attainments, and one-sided illuminism ascend to universal culture. The Bible should again come to honor, but it must be its spirit rather than the letter; and with and beside it, Homer, Plato, and Shakespeare, each in his own way, should discharge abundant streams of intellectual refreshment. The universities should not only be great rooms for study, but the universal places for the discipline of youthful vigor, the fold of a moral enthusiasm for the entire life.

Fichte had given the principal impulse to this movement. But we see before us Schleiermacher, who stands amid the theologians who clearly and acutely saw this mission of the new age, and who even contributed largely by their science to bring forth a new creation, which was neither like the old orthodoxy nor the now declining Rationalism, but stood forth against them as a new power, in which full satisfaction should be dealt to faith and knowledge, to piety of heart and education of the mind, to what was ancient and to what was new. Modern history represents him as the one from whom a new epoch in Protestant theology dates, "with whom a totally new theological and ecclesiastical tendency has energetically commenced."¹ Without overlooking the services of others who worked simultaneously with him, let us therefore connect with him, because of the brief time now allotted us, what remains to be said on the most recent development of Protestantism. Our plan shall be to consider at present, in connection with Schelling's natural philosophy and Romanticism, Schleiermacher in his youthful period, when he was most influenced by philosophy; and, in the following lecture,

¹ Lücke, in *Studien und Kritiken*, 1834, p. 751. Comp. also Schwarz, *Neueste Theologie*, p. 24 ff. New Edition.

speak of the ecclesiastical events in which he took an active part, and also of his theological system, so far as it is proper here to lay the cap-stone from which, as from a finished mound, we may take a few fugitive views of the movements of the present day going on below us.

While we have elsewhere regarded the Moravian community established by Zinzendorf as a conservative and accumulating society,¹ this opinion will be justified by the fact that many men who afterward exerted an important influence upon their times, arose from its bosom, and received their first spiritual impulse in it.²

Schleiermacher was born in Breslau on the 21st of November, 1768, and acquired his earlier education, secular and in part theological, at the Moravian institutions of Niesky and Barby. And though somewhat later he left the Brotherhood, and continued his studies at Halle upon a different system, still, down to the end of life, he never ceased to acknowledge the beneficial influence of his early Moravian training. "Piety," says he, "was the maternal womb in whose holy obscurity my young life was nourished and prepared for the world to which it was still a stranger; in it my spirit breathed before it had found its sphere in science and the experience of life." While chaplain in the hospital in Berlin from 1796 to 1802, Schleiermacher became intimate with the brothers Schlegel and other bold spirits of the Romantic school, and to this period, in which his Platonic studies fall, belong his two early works, the Discourses concerning Religion, and the Monologues. We begin with the latter (1800), because they present us with a better view of the interior life of the man than could be given by any merely outward

¹ Comp. Vol. I. p. 437.

² In Gelzer's *Protestantisches Monatsblatt* (July, 1855) we find new and gratifying information on Schleiermacher's relation to the Moravian Brethren. The essay gives us a clear view of the history of the religious development of this great theologian, and we welcome it as an important contribution "to the internal history of German Protestantism." Also the more recent *Briefwechsel zwischen Schleiermacher und Gass* (Berlin, 1852) casts much light on the great turning-points of modern theology, so far as they were occasioned by Schleiermacher.

biography, and because they reveal him as he stood before his own consciousness and that of his contemporaries.

While Goethe regards self-scrutiny and self-observation as morbid, Schleiermacher asserts exactly the opposite, and seems to have Goethe in his mind when he says: "Whoever knows and sees only the outer manifestations of the spirit, instead of its moving inward life; whoever, instead of contemplating himself, does nothing but gather together from far and near an image of his outer life and its vicissitudes, must ever remain a slave of time and necessity, and whatever he thinks and devises must bear their stamp."¹ From the Monologues of Schleiermacher a spirit breathes upon us like to that of Fichte. To get possession of himself, to bear eternal life in himself even in this world, to become conscious of his Ego as something indestructible, was the goal toward which everything tended. "Begin now," said he, "thine eternal life in perpetual self-inspection; grieve not for the future and for that which is passing away; but be careful not to lose thyself, but weep if thou art borne away by the stream of time without carrying heaven within thee. To be a man, a single resolve is sufficient; whoever makes it, is a man forever; whoever ceases to be a man, never was one."² Thus with proud satisfaction did the preacher recall the hour in which he had found the consciousness of humanity, not by means of a system of philosophy, but through the inner revelation of one luminous moment, by his own act; and he assures us that he never afterward lost himself.

In distinct opposition to the abstract, generalizing ethics which regard all men as mere mathematical quantities, as fragments of one and the same mass, Schleiermacher declared in the Monologues that every man must develop humanity in his own way. He freely confessed that the vocation of the artist, who molds the outer world into shapes of beauty and rejoices in the perfection of form, was something quite foreign to him; and herein we again see him distinctly contrasted with Goethe. He regarded it as his mission, his destiny, not

¹ *Monologen*, 3rd Ed. p. 11. Compare beginning of 2nd Monologue.

² *Idem*, pp. 23, 27.

to represent an outward permanent work, but to labor upon himself within. And this destiny he expected to work out only in communion with others. With him, however, the true communion was that wherein each freely allows the other to act according to his own peculiarities, and yet each completes the other, so that altogether they may exhibit the true picture of humanity. A strong but noble self-reliance, rising almost to a prophecy in respect to his own future, is expressed in these striking words from the Monologues (p. 115):

“Unenfeebled will I bring my spirit down to life’s closing period; never shall the genial courage of life desert me; what gladdens me now shall gladden me ever; my imagination shall continue lively, and my will unbroken, and nothing shall force from my hand the magic key which opens the mysterious gates of the upper world, and the fire of love within me shall never be extinguished. I will not look upon the dreaded weakness of age; I pledge myself to supreme contempt of every toil which does not concern the true end of my existence, and I vow to remain forever young. . . . The spirit which impels man forward shall never fail me, and the longing which is never satisfied with what has been, but ever goes forth to meet the new, shall still be mine. The glory I shall seek is to know that my aim is infinite, and yet never to pause in my course. . . . I shall never think myself old until my work is done, and that work will not be done while I know and will what I ought. . . . To the end of life I am determined to grow stronger and livelier by every act, and more vital through every self-improvement. I will wed youth to age, so that the latter may be filled and thoroughly penetrated with inspiring warmth. . . . Through self-study man raises himself to a position which despondency and weakness cannot approach, for eternal youth and joy sprout from the consciousness of inward freedom and its action. So much I have accomplished, and shall never give it up; therefore when the light of my eyes shall fade, and the gray hairs shall sprinkle my blond locks, my spirit shall still smile. No event shall have power to disturb my heart; the pulse of my inner life shall remain fresh while life endures.”

Schleiermacher kept his word. All who knew him in his later years will recall with pleasure the impression made upon them by the appearance of this youthful old man. And yet whoever will be at the pains to compare this language of the Monologues with the author's later writings, must be struck with the fact that the moral courage, the trust in his own strength, the almost reckless moral boldness here expressed, is widely different from the meekness of that "feeling of dependence" which finally became the root of Schleiermacher's theology. He felt this himself in after years, and in a new edition of the Monologues declared that he had only given an ideal of the nature toward which he strove, and that the self-inspection was therefore made solely from the ethical standpoint, while its religious element did not appear. He was anxious, on account of the one-sided notion of his own personality produced by the Monologues, practically to counteract them, and by a series of religious soliloquies to supply what the little book lacked; but he never did it. This lack, however, may be considered as measurably supplied by his Discourses on Religion, which appeared in 1799, one year before the Monologues. These Discourses on Religion, Addressed to the Educated among its Despisers, were a highly important phenomenon, and exerted a powerful influence upon their times. Not only such men as Werner, but also many younger men, to whom whatever concerned religion had become an enigma, found themselves elevated, edified, and brought nearer to its solution by these Discourses. To understand this here, as in the case of the Monologues, we must transpose ourselves completely to the time of writing; for Schleiermacher himself remarks in 1821, in issuing the third edition, that the times had undergone a marked change, and that the persons to whom the Discourses were originally addressed were no longer to be found.¹

¹ "Rather," he remarks, "if we look around among the educated, we find it necessary to write discourses for bigots and slaves of the letter, for the ignorant, uncharitable, persecuting devotees of superstition and credulity." Thus wrote Schleiermacher in 1821, twenty-two years after their first publication. Another series of years has passed, and how stands the matter now? We have slaves of the letter, despisers, and what not.

It is needful to recall the fact that through the Kantian philosophy, which still counted its disciples among the educated, religion had been transformed into mere morality, and that everything relating to religious exercise, to worship and the like, had come to be regarded as a mere indemnity for those classes of people who are not able to bring themselves up to pure morality. Still the attendance of the educated classes upon divine service was justified, not, however, upon the ground of necessity, but of example. This contempt for religion, springing as it did mainly from an entire misunderstanding of its nature, was boldly met by Schleiermacher in his Discourses. In opposition as well to the view which makes religion merely a matter of knowledge,—whether as the dead material of traditional dogmas or as an interesting subject of philosophical discussion,—as to that which reduces it to a mere moral discipline, he sought to elevate it again to its true position, to restore it to its original rights, by pointing out feeling as its own peculiar sphere. But by feeling he understood, not that fleeting movement of sensible experiences which passes away as quickly as it arises, and which becomes the deceitful play of the humor of the hour; not that fantastic susceptibility and emotionality which he himself so earnestly opposed: but the innermost germ of the man, the central, focal point of his spiritual life, the source and root of all our thinking, striving and acting, the most immediate and original portion of our inner life. Religion cannot be taught and imparted from without, nor communicated by dogmas or sentences, but must be begotten in the mind of the pious as an original sentiment, as something experienced and lived, and must make itself known as an all-ruling and all-appropriating power. The religious man is turned in to the innermost deep of his own self; and everything outward, so far as it makes itself known as distinct knowledge or action, is something only secondary or derived.

In these fundamental views concerning the nature of religion, Schleiermacher agrees with F. H. Jacobi, who, as we know, strives to free divine things from the slavery of the dead idea, whether of the theological or philosophical schools,

and to press them down into the innermost ground of the soul; not, indeed, that they may remain there as if buried in holy gloom like a dead treasure, but rather that out of this depth they may come forth to the light as pure, refined gold, as the indestructible heritage of our nature, dependent on no change of systems. But while Jacobi conceived religion more in its universality, and hesitated to describe it in its historical distinctness as essentially Christian, Schleiermacher showed that natural religion, so called, to which the educated classes of that period were especially inclined, was a mere chimera, a naked abstraction of the understanding, and that religion never works efficaciously upon man until it becomes something definite and positive. Especially did he bring out what Jacobi had overlooked, namely, the social element, and showed that from the earliest times, individuals who had been peculiarly stirred by the religious life had always worked upon society, and as religious founders had gathered associations about them. Without even naming Christ, except as one of the series of religious founders; without at all describing the Christian, among other historical religions, as the only true religion of humanity, he still taught his own times how to get away from the loose generalities with which they had so long been occupied, and to attain to something distinctively Christian. "These Discourses," as a later theologian, Lücke, has truly said, "are rather a defense of religion in general than of Christianity in particular; they were uttered, so to speak, in the outer court of theology, in the court of the Gentiles," and yet they clearly enough contained those peculiar fundamental principles which Schleiermacher afterward carried out in his System of Doctrines.

Still, a very serious charge has been brought from various quarters against these Discourses, and even by parties from whom, after knowing the relation between Schleiermacher and Jacobi, we should not have expected it; we refer to that of pantheism.¹ And it is true that the Discourses bear this

¹ This charge comes especially from the side of Rationalism, particularly from Röhr. Against it, compare Karsten's Examination and Estimate of Dr. Röhr's Article on Schleiermacher's Discourses on Re-

stamp in their whole tone and expression; there is no mistaking it. Neither a personal God nor personal immortality, as Rationalism would have them held, are here to be met with; on the contrary, passages enough are to be found which remind us even less of Jacobi than of his opponent Schelling and his philosophy; passages in which the All, the Universe, the Absolute take the place of a known and named God, and in which the reception into that One and Universal might appear to be the very goal of all our wishes. But we must here again recall the time in which the Discourses were written, and the persons to whom they were addressed. Faith, indeed, existed in a personal God, but it was one that worshipped in God a metaphysical being, separated from the world, who comes into no communion with man, who, unconcerned about the world and men, leads a life of simple self-complacency, at most intending at some future time to judge the world which he had been at the pains to create. Against this cold deistical belief, just at that time constituting the religion of those claiming to be the educated classes, and still lingering in the heads and hearts of many, Schleiermacher presented the living, spiritual presence of a world-indwelling God, ever present with us, uniting and allying himself with our nature, and making us happy by his abode in us.

It cannot and must not be denied, however, that our author in doing this approached the pantheistic modes of expression, and even appropriated them further than was needful for his own purpose. But at a later period he broke away from this pantheistical thinking, and testified against it both in distinct declarations and in his whole Christian development. Indeed, in opposition to the common sort of these "exclusive sticklers", as he called them, who only hid their unbelief in higher truths behind their pantheism; in opposition to the Romantic poetasters who sported with religion in shallow poetry, he had already declared in the Discourses, that when philosophers, like Spinoza, should become religious and seek God, and artists, like Novalis, should become pious and love

ligion. Röhr's article appeared in the *Kritische Predigerbibliothek*. Rostock, 1835. See also the polemical papers of Hase.

Christ, then and only then should dawn upon humanity the resurrection of the two worlds of art and philosophy. In respect to immortality, Schleiermacher indeed admitted that the usual method of treating the subject did not accord with, and could not proceed from, the true nature of piety; that in many persons the belief in immortality appeared to be opposed to piety, because their desire to be immortal had no other ground than a repugnance to that which is the ultimate aim of religion, because they attached more importance to their future existence in the sharply defined outlines of their own personality than to God and a godly life. For such, he supposes, were meant the words of our Lord: "Whosoever shall lose his life for my sake shall find it," and the reverse. The more they long for an immortality of which they can form no conception, the more do they lose of that immortality which they might have here. Whoever has learned to be more than himself, knows well that but little is lost in losing himself; only he who is even here united with God, in whose soul, even here, a great and holy longing has arisen, has the right and the capacity further to discourse concerning the hope which death gives us, and concerning the infinity to which death shall infallibly elevate us.

By his call to Halle, in 1802, as Professor of Theology and Philosophy, and his appointment in the newly established University at Berlin in 1810,¹ Schleiermacher became more fully devoted to theological science, and in this more definite sphere of labor we shall meet with him further on.

¹ The positions he occupied are as follows: 1794, Assistant Preacher in Landsberg on the Warthe; 1796—1802, Preacher at the Hospital in Berlin; 1802, Court Preacher in Stolpe, and in the same year University Preacher and Professor at Halle. In 1807 he went back to Berlin, and, like Fichte, gave lectures before the general public. In 1809 he became Preacher at Trinity Church, Berlin; in 1810 Professor at that place, and in 1811 a member of the Academy. It is very significant that, in his case, the clerical office was ever united with that of teacher, and the professor's chair was divided between theology and philosophy.

LECTURE XVII.

THE NEW PROTESTANT THEOLOGY: SCHLEIERMACHER AND DE WETTE. — THEIR CONNECTION WITH MODERN HISTORY IN GENERAL, PARTICULARLY THAT OF GERMANY. — THE CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF THE REFORMATION. — HARMS, AND THE CONTROVERSY ON HIS THESES. — THE UNION. — THE CONTROVERSY ON THE LITURGY, AND SCHLEIERMACHER'S SHARE IN IT. — THE LUTHERAN REACTION. — STEFFENS. — SCHLEIERMACHER'S SYSTEM OF DOCTRINE. — PARALLEL BETWEEN HERDER AND SCHLEIERMACHER.

If we have designated Schleiermacher as the man from whom a new epoch in Protestant theology is to be dated, we did not mean to intimate that it was in the power of any one man, however gifted, to change the direction of the times, and to fix upon them the exclusive stamp of his own spirit, or that only one man was to be submitted to our inspection. Schleiermacher himself would have been the first to refuse the position which some have assigned him in history, for he confesses that he was only able to accomplish anything great in connection with others. And in fact we shall find that even before he had distinctly presented his theological thinking in its complete systematic development, another spirit had appeared in the field. About this time we meet with a tendency which goes beyond the so-called Rationalism and Supernaturalism, and seeks to effect a reconciliation of the two. This reconciliation was very distinct from that theory, or rather that mere expedient, which takes one half of Rationalism and one half of Supernaturalism, and outwardly and

mechanically uniting them, calls the product rational Supernaturalism.¹

Some, like the venerable Daub of Heidelberg,² in connection with the new speculative philosophy, sought to pave the way for a theological mode of thought which should lay bare the very foundations of doctrine; others, on the contrary, sought in the path of psychology, that path trodden by Kant and Jacobi, and which Fries had traveled in a way peculiarly his own, to separate that which in matters of religion pertains to the understanding from that which falls within the sphere of faith and presentiment,—powers of the human soul which Kant had not sufficiently regarded, and which have their rights as well as the understanding. They aimed in this way to rescue the mysteries of faith from rude treatment, to point out the insufficiency of human language, and to bring religious thinkers, behind the symbolical expression to have a presentiment of a higher something which cannot find vent in words or in any sensible representation. In the place of a mode of investigation merely logical and coldly calculating, one was proposed clearly conscious of its own procedure, and marked by a kindliness and pious inspiration nearly akin to that with which we view a beautiful work of art, and hence called the *æsthetical*.

As a representative of this tendency we name De Wette, a man who was destined through his career greatly to elevate the intellectual life of our native city (Basle) and its University. Growing up under the influence of German (Saxon)

¹ Schleiermacher makes himself quite merry at the expense of these theologians: "For my part, I am thoroughly uncomfortable when I hear the *ra* and *irra* and *super* whistling about me, for it always seems to me that this terminology grows more and more confused. But that the concert may be complete, I propose, with all respect, to add to the *irrational* and rational supernaturalism, not only a *supernaturalistic rationalism* and irrationalism, but also a naturalistic and unnaturalistic superrationalism, and when this offspring of the earth (for they may scarcely claim a loftier origin) shall stand forth fully armed, it is to be hoped that the old passion for slaughtering one another will take possession of them."

² Born 1765, at Cassel; at one time Professor at Hanau.

Rationalism, he received from it the critical tendency which delights in analyzing and in pulling to pieces. So earnest, indeed, was he with this criticism, that he could not content himself with the half-way process of the Rationalists, who, like Paulus, sought by skillful interpretations of the miracles to adapt the Bible to the culture of the times, or, like Röhr and Wegscheider, weakened its dogmatic contents to bring it into agreement with their rationalistic mode of thinking. De Wette looked the Bible, which he so aptly and faithfully translated, squarely in the face; he did not close his eyes upon the abyss which now at last manifestly yawned between the ancient period of miracles and the modern age of reflection. He left the miracles as he found them, but when he could not accept them as miracles, then, according to the analogies presented in the history of other religions, he admitted mythical elements into the sacred history, and sought to secure these against profanation by transferring them from the region of historic and prosaic reality to that of poetry, a poetry which, as he understood it, so far from being synonymous with falsehood, expressed and symbolized the very loftiest ideal truth. And while he scrutinized the individual books of Scripture, or portions of them, as to their genuineness (in regard to the authors to whom they are ascribed, or the periods of time to which they are assigned); while he ventured many a bold and damaging blow against the outer organism of the Bible, still, for the interior organism of the divine idea of redemption as it comes to light in Scripture, for the idea of religion, running through the whole history of revelation, returning again and again under the most varied forms and perfecting itself in Christ, and for the power of that idea in the souls of men, he showed a delicacy of susceptibility far greater than that of the great mass of Rationalists, or even than the Supernaturalists, who, while they anxiously clung to the letter of the Bible, showed but little comprehension of its very kernel, of the controlling principle of its revelation.

And it was De Wette who, even before Schleiermacher's importance to theology had come to be generally acknowledged,

pointed out the necessity of regenerating the Church by means of a believing theology, transfused with religious ideas and inspired by holy feeling; and he well knew how to stimulate the young to work for it. With De Wette, Christianity did not depend on a doctrine embraced with the understanding; he declared, at a time when such utterances were regarded as the evidence of a suspicious Pietism and Mysticism, that to yield up ourselves believingly to the single personality standing before us in the sacred history, is the one thing essential, and that the living Christ must form the very center of all theology. He had the courage as well of a confessor of the truth as of an unbiased investigator of it, and though the conscientious investigation which he regarded as his solemn mission, prevented him from reaching completed results as quickly as those who were bolder and less exact, this fact must increase our respect for his opinions. While Schleiermacher, therefore, in his philosophical use of language, followed in part the natural philosophy of Schelling, De Wette followed another philosophical leader, Fries, who, joining himself to Kant and Jacobi, sought to unite the critical tendency of the former with the faith and feeling of the latter. But Schleiermacher and De Wette agreed and outstripped their age in this: they did not make religion chiefly a matter of knowledge and of the understanding, but of religious feeling and faith, to which they united presentiment, whose long neglected claim they vindicated.¹

¹ We insert this passage on De Wette in the present edition of this work, though we should not have done it during his life-time, owing to our relation as associate professors. Our mere allusion here has been elaborated in an Academical Memorial Sermon: *W. M. L. De Wette* (Leipzig, 1850). Comp. Schenkel: *W. M. L. De Wette und die Bedeutung seiner Theologie für unsere Zeit* (Schaffhausen, 1849); and Lücke: *W. M. L. De Wette* (Hamburg, 1850). Schwarz has only done justice to the critical services of De Wette (*Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*, 3rd Ed., pp. 50—56). By no means would we declare his doctrinal views "defunct." The time will come when they can be used again. Kahnis, with some harsh words on De Wette's dualism, yet says: "That a man of such negative tendencies had, notwithstanding, so much love for the historical Christ, and such a warm heart for the past history of the

Before we examine the modern theology in its connection generally, we must do what we have perhaps already too long delayed: that is, cast a glance at the development of European history, or at least at that of the political history of Germany. It must be but a glance, for its thorough treatment does not belong here.

All the revolutions which we have hitherto seen passing in the sphere of the intellect, whether in philosophy, theology, literature, or education, stand in striking connection with the great events of the political world. The French Revolution, proceeding from a principle wholly different from that of the German Reformation of the sixteenth century, had, not only in France but also in Germany, left behind the traces of that destructive spirit which had trampled in the dust whatever was heavenly, and communicated itself in a great measure to public opinion. The Napoleonic period immediately succeeding had indeed thrown up a dam against the dissolving and destroying element, but of what sort? An iron dam of force. The ideas of the Revolution, so far as they stood related to morality and religion, remained substantially the same, but their further development or check depended on the caprice of the conqueror. Religion, subsequently as previously, appeared as bit and bridle for the people, only that the bridle which had been wantonly cast away was now again buckled on. It is well known that Napoleon, notwithstanding the greatness of his practical understanding, with which, as with eyes of lightning, he looked through the relations of life, yet had so little appreciation of the might and magic of ideas that he berated the German theologians as unpractical heads, and yet he could not free himself from a secret fear of the power of their ideas. Indeed, there remained for the poor Germans during the period of oppression nothing but to flee to the realm of ideas, and to strengthen themselves inwardly, while outward disfavor prevented activity. Nothing was left them but to temper their character by means of these ideas,

church, is a significant sign of the change of the times." *History of German Protestantism*, p. 236. The relation of his theology to that of Schleiermacher is well described in this work.

while the sword rested in its scabbard. Thus was it with Fichte, as well as with many others. This German patience has been despised and mocked at, but it should rather be regarded as an heirloom of Luther, who, boldly as he met the day of decision, knew how to be silent before God and his judgments.

The day of decision came. The time of battle arrived in the years 1813—1815, the period of deliverance. In the memorable Winter of 1812, God marked for the proud oppressor his limit, and said: "Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further; and here shall thy proud waves be stayed." The German people, the youth of the land, took courage, and with their eyes directed to God, that he would not forsake them, the iron die was cast. For many the battle thus became a religious, a holy struggle—a battle between the time-honored German faith, morality and discipline on the one side, and foreign licentiousness on the other. So at least the men regarded it who then called the German people to arms, such as Arndt, Max Schenkendorf, Fouqué, and Theodore Körner. Then sang Moritz Arndt:

"Who is a man? He who can pray,
And trust the Lord most high;
When earth is wrecked he trembles not,
His trust can never die.

Who is a man? He who believes,
For truth and freedom burning;
This fortress strong no human throng
Has power of overturning.

God can alone protect his own,
And give them peace and conquest."¹

This was the watchword and battle-cry of both the manhood and the youth of Germany in that period. In respect to doctrines and ideas, the religious excitement was, as from

¹ Compare Arndt: *Versuch in vergleichender Völkergeschichte*, p. 409 ff. Leipzig, 1843. This period of universal awakening is also strikingly and impressively described in Steffens: *Was ich erlebte*, and Perthes: *Biographie* (Vol. II.).

the pressure of circumstances it could not fail to be, very indefinite. Time enough had been consumed with unfruitful definitions of doctrine. Now the great want was that faith should reveal itself in acts; and as each one in a physical struggle reaches for the weapon lying nearest, so everybody now seized the intellectual weapon which he best knew how to use. This was indeed fortunate for the period of early enthusiasm. A quiet examination of the religious and moral motives of each individual, an analysis of the elements in a moment of time, was not to be thought of; for this, seasons of agitation are not appropriate. Such analysis and investigation could only come when the fermentation had ceased, and the elements had become quiescent. And thus the gain to religion was not at once apparent; indeed, this was not at first inquired for, but rather, as was reasonably to be expected, the political advantage, which the nobler spirits hoped would become the firm foundation of a moral and religious life.

With the sense of German power, of German courage, and German unity, were bound up expectations which were not realized after the peace, either in the way looked for or so soon as had been hoped by many who had called the people to the conflict. When the outward foe had been conquered—conquered, indeed, a second time by the united hosts of Europe—the battle immediately became a domestic one. The relations of prince and people, of single states to collective Germany, were at once elevated into vital questions, for whose solution men did not feel compelled to wait on tedious diplomatic negotiations. The young generation, full of active life and devoted to liberty, demanded, not without violence, the realization of their ideal, and thus drew upon themselves the suspicion of demagogism. It thus happened that the religious interest which at first had stirred the hearts of the people, was compelled to fall back in the rear of the political; and while it is true that the majority of European princes,¹ in the first feeling of gratitude for victory over their enemy, at the suggestion of Russia, in 1814, formed the Holy Alliance,

¹ With the exception of the King of England, the Pope, and the Sultan.

with the distinctly expressed design of "establishing Christianity, above all differences of creed, as the supreme law for the life of the nations,"¹ still there were not wanting those who looked upon this same Holy Alliance with distrust, and detected behind the Christian phrases which so many of the great were now using, the concealed purpose to lead the people back to their old servitude by means of piety.

The political liberalism of the day derided the good-natured enthusiasm which gave attention to these pious utterances, and was only too much inclined to confound the newly awakened religious life and the reviving Pietism with the Catholicizing and Jesuitical tendencies, which, like worms in the vernal sun, had manifestly begun to stir. Such Germans as Voss, Paulus and Krug stood at the head of this party; on the other side, however, were many of the gentler spirits, who looked for a political regeneration to proceed from a spiritual, and, themselves buried in the religious views of the Middle Ages, built upon a romantically decorated idea of the German Empire, and even sought through this profounder, though duskier, religious enthusiasm—through the power of Mysticism—to work with holy earnestness upon the political sentiment. Even the outward appearance, in dress and in the growth of the hair, was to remind men again of the character of the Middle Ages, of the old German times; and the godly German youth, through the energy and fervor of their souls, were to triumph as well over shallow liberalism as over heartless diplomacy. It is well known that this spirit, so well agreeing with the Romantic, was originally dominant among the students of the universities; and it is obvious that this tendency, where guiding principles are lacking, must degenerate into a dangerous fanaticism, and of this fanaticism the unhappy Sand afterward became a sad victim.

In the midst of these religious and political disturbances, in 1817, came the festival of the commemoration of the Reformation, whose disclosures most strikingly showed how

¹ See Hase's Church History, §. 503. Goethe says of the Holy Alliance: "Nothing greater, nothing better for humanity, has ever been devised." *Gespräche mit Eckermann*, Vol. I. p. 277.

different were the standpoints from which this important event in the history of the world was regarded. The friends of the fatherland saw in it the justice of demanding for the state what Luther had demanded for the church. Luther and Hutten became symbols of energetic German manhood; and the Reformation, of decisive resistance to spiritual oppression and violence. From this standpoint, pervaded indeed with religious elements, the festival at the Wartburg was celebrated, to which the youth from every German district flocked in great numbers, where grand recollections were awakened, high resolutions formed, and solemn vows made; but at the same time youthful imprudences were perpetrated, which afterward brought the innocent into painful complications.¹

It was not the political side alone, much as the times might emphasize it, that was to be comprehended at the festival of the Reformation; but the church was required from her own standpoint to know what there was in the Reformation which she was called upon to honor. But even here opinions were far apart. While one celebrated the Reformation only as the forerunner of a free mode of thought, in the sense of Rationalism,² as the feeble beginning of that which in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries had attained its completeness in illuminism and science, this was opposed by others with the demand to return to the old doctrines of Luther, from which men had, alas! too widely separated themselves of late. Forward, with Luther or without him, but still forward, cried the one party; backward to Luther and to the faith of the fathers, cried the other. Among the

¹ "Wherefore should I," says Arndt, "bring back the recollections of an evil period now past? Both were wrong, those who raised the excitement, and those who commanded quiet; but from the latter, greater wisdom and patience might have been expected. That famous chase after demagogues had many bad results. In the first place, the disease, which had been only on the skin, struck down into the nobler parts, with many into the very heart; and follies, or innocent youthful ebullitions, became evil fancies, with some indeed criminal plots; but secondly, the worst was its slow secondary operation." *Versuch*, etc. p. 411.

² Thus Wegscheider dedicated his Dogmatics to the shades of Luther.

latter appeared a man who claims our special attention. Proceeding from the lower classes, he was able by means of a powerful personality, and a bold, picturesque style in public discourse, to work upon the people, and to fill them with enthusiasm for the ancient faith.

This was Claus Harms, Archdeacon at Kiel,¹ the son of a miller and born in 1778, at South Ditmarsch, in Holstein, who, until his twelfth year, besides a thorough catechetical training at home, had only enjoyed the advantage of a village school, and had been taught the elements of Greek and Latin by the Rationalist preacher of the place. Until his nineteenth year he assisted his father, and after his father's death, his mother, in the labors of the mill. At that age, driven by an irrepressible thirst for knowledge, he entered the Gymnasium at Meldorf, and afterward the University of Kiel. He made rapid progress,² passed his examination well, and after spending a year as private tutor, and ten years as a country pastor, he was called to the position of Archdeacon at Kiel and Pastor of the Church of St. Nicholas in that place.

Harms, in his manner of preaching, had already departed from the beaten track. For seventy or eighty years it had been esteemed essential to good pulpit eloquence to preach in an argumentative, symmetrical, and uniform style, and to avoid as unfitting everything figurative, nervous, and striking. It had been especially laid down that a definite theme should be pursued, according to a plan thoroughly thought out, in the strictly logical order and connection of its parts, of which method Zollikofer and Reinhard had successively been models. But Harms struck out on another and opposite course. He flung behind him the shackles of the schools; threw himself directly, with all life and feeling, into his text, and spoke from it in the language of the people and from the feeling of the hour.

¹ See his *Selbstbiographie* (Kiel, 1851); Baumgarten: *Ein Denkmal für Claus Harms* (Braunschweig, 1855); and Pelt, in Herzog's *Real-Encycl.*

² He first earnestly studied Kant's philosophy, but afterward received deep religious impressions from the reading of Schleiermacher's *Discourses*, and started in a path which soon carried him beyond Schleiermacher into strict ecclesiasticism and positive orthodoxy.

Like Luther, he watched the popular mouth, and from it caught the art of talking with the people. Hence his fondness for proverbs and verses of hymns familiar to the people, to which he hung his discourse, not even despising the rhyme and jingle of the words. And he employed the whole broad creation as a great art-gallery of religious symbols and life relationships. He delivered sermons on nature from texts on nature, though not in the sense of the earlier sentimental preachers, who could say so many fine things about the rising and the setting sun, the flowers of Spring, and the starry heavens, while they pushed aside Christ, the Apostles, and the whole Gospel. On the contrary, to him all nature was but a prop for Christianity, simply the outer revealing of what must be wrought in us, if the Divine Spirit shall there create a spring, and the Sun of righteousness shall call into being a new creation. Herein he followed the example of Him whose parables appropriated the sower and the various kinds of soil, the fig-tree, the lilies of the field and the fowls of the air, and of whom it is said: "He taught them as one having authority, and not as the scribes."

Indeed, Harms's preaching was attended with great power; of this his Winter and Summer Postils give sufficient evidence, and many stories are told, bordering on the miraculous, of the effect of his preaching and impressive prayers.¹ It is at least certain that while many of the churches of that day were empty, that of Harms was always crowded; many of the educated, who had ceased to frequent divine service, became his hearers, and many strangers attended his ministry. Many among them may have been drawn merely by the origi-

¹ On a certain occasion, during a long drought, according to a custom in Holstein he prayed for rain. None of those present expected at the time of starting for church that the rain would come so soon, and all, even Harms himself, were greatly surprised when the large drops suddenly smote the high old church windows. Deeply moved and pale, for a few seconds he was silent, appearing to listen, and then with a voice suppressed, but continually rising, he cried out: "Hearken, my beloved congregation! The Lord has heard you, the Lord passes over you, and his feet drip with blessings." See Rheinwald's *Repertorium*. Vol. XXX. p. 54.

nality of the preacher, but others no doubt found the spiritual food for which they had long been hungering. Some even compared him with Luther, so that, encouraged by such opinions, Harms may have felt himself called to step forth as a Reformer. At least he thought that the best way for him to commemorate the Reformation was to place by the side of the ninety-five Theses which Luther nailed to the door of the Castle Church in Wittenberg, ninety-five others, which he regarded as fitting for the times, and which attacked Rationalism with sturdy words. He spoke of a popery of reason, from which the church of the nineteenth century must be delivered, as was the church of the sixteenth from Romish tyranny. He laid bare many ecclesiastical defects, with which he had become acquainted, first in Holstein, but afterward in collective Germany, and in the Protestant church generally. He demanded a return to the old Lutheran faith, to the old pious customs of the fathers. We have no reason to suspect that he was led to adopt this course by vanity, or by a desire to make for himself the name of a second Luther; we doubt not that zeal for the safety of the church, which he believed to be in great danger from Rationalism, was his motive; still we are required by candor to confess, that the manner in which his zeal found vent was better calculated to rouse the feelings than to make truth clear to the understanding. Upon many it could only make the impression that Harms condemned the use as well as the abuse of reason in matters of religion, that he was disposed entirely to forget the history of three centuries, and violently to confine the spirit of the nineteenth century to the forms of the sixteenth.

The Theses made at all events a great stir; they produced joy among the strictly orthodox—who had long kept silence, and sighed under the rule of Rationalism—but irritation among the friends of illuminism. The reproach of popery was thrown back upon the author, modesty was commended to him, and he was reminded, not very gently, of his humble origin,¹ which, it was said, did not especially qualify him to pronounce judg-

¹ "He had better carry his sacks to mill, as he used to do."

ment upon questions which men more learned than himself had not been able to clear up. Many called him a blockhead, a Jesuit, even a hypocrite, and allowed themselves to offer him the grossest personal insults. Many who had awarded him a high position as a preacher were offended, and deserted him; others, on the contrary, were attracted to him, and cheered him on in the way in which he had begun. The agitation was greatest in Holstein, and especially in Kiel. There the strife between the parties penetrated the very relations of social and domestic life. So far did things proceed, that not only social circles were dissolved on account of these Theses, but even matrimonial engagements were broken.¹ Soon the pens of the learned were set in motion for and against the Theses. The most remarkable thing was that the learned Ammon, Chief Court Preacher at Dresden, hitherto regarded rather as a defender of Rationalism, now came forward as a friend of these Theses, and greeted in them the dawn of a new and better era.

This was too much for Schleiermacher's patience. He regarded Harms, as he himself assures us, as a well-disposed, acute and truly Christian man, inspired by a noble zeal; he rejoiced in his wide-spread and beneficial activity, but the publication of the Theses he regarded as a blunder, or rather as a piece of arrogance. He knew the condition of the Protestant church and theology too well to be persuaded that any real advantage could result from the bold utterances of mere authority. Schleiermacher was by no means the friend of bald, vulgar Rationalism; if he was, he aided in overturning it; and he who was so far in advance of Harms in scientific culture, could not fail to see that the religious and ecclesiastical wants of the nineteenth century were different from those of a former period. And he could only be the more offended when such

¹ The children in the streets, playing upon his name (Harm, in German, meaning *grief*), sang the song:

"Roses scattered in the way,
And your *grief* (Harms) forgotten."

Comp. the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung* (Berlin, 1829), No. 59, p. 80 ff.

men as Ammon, who were farther separated from the old orthodoxy than himself, gave their unconditional assent to the Theses of Harms. The affair brought keen definitions and discussions, and did not end without bitterness.¹ One result of this battle on the Theses was, that a livelier interest arose in matters of ecclesiastical life, and the strife between the rationalistic faith and that of the Bible, which since the time of Reinhard had been mostly an affair of the theological schools, now became a question about which, in the interests of their own salvation, the churches, the heads of families, and individuals, began to trouble themselves. It now became less a proof of weak-mindedness than it had been for ten or twenty years, for a man to be more concerned about Christian affairs than the news of the day. Conversation began to turn more than formerly upon religion.

The outward political peace was favorable to attention to religious concerns, and the after-throes of the war gave many minds a more serious turn. This was its good side, but there was also a bad one. A false zeal overcame many, and harsh opinions were often uttered about Christian efforts by those who were devoid of all proper perception.² Though the earlier fashion had been, if not to scoff at religion in society, yet to ignore it, many now sought to insinuate themselves hypocritically into the favor of its strong friends, and men who had previously been very highly respected on account of their liberal views and honesty, now had to put up with being set right, often in the most abrupt manner, by the very ones who had done homage to them as disciples. No one perceived this rapid change in the impressions of the day more thor-

¹ Comp. Schleiermacher: *An Herrn Dr. Ammon, über seine Prüfung der Harms'schen Sätze* (Berlin, 1818), and other controversial publications.

² Here, too, as ever, the blind followers went further than their predecessors. Harms, rough as he was in general, was mild in his judgment of individuals. When he delivered the funeral discourse over a very lively and freethinking student, who had been drowned while bathing, he used these memorable words: "This Moses, who has reached a better world, doubted on religion. But he who does not doubt *with* religion has not the *true* religion." See Rheinwald's *Repertorium*, p. 54.

oughly than Schleiermacher, who himself experienced them, and who has spoken of them expressly in the Preface to the second edition of his Discourses. People, in returning to what was old, did not now seem to be able to do enough. It was not only the strictly positive, Biblical, and Christian which was emphatically placed in opposition to the so-called rational theology; but there was a determination to raise again to the throne rigid Lutheranism, in all its concrete form, with all its temporary characteristics, with its coarseness and peculiarities. This was desired particularly by Harms, and very soon others united with him, though with still greater emphasis. Their course was all the more decided, because just now, on the occasion of the third centennial anniversary of the Reformation, there was more serious talk than ever of permanently uniting, after three centuries of lamentable separation, the divided Protestant confessions, the Lutheran and the Reformed. We know how many attempts to effect this unity had been made, and that especially the Electoral Princes of Brandenburg (subsequently the Kings of Prussia), gave a helping hand toward it.

King Frederick William III., in the centennial year of the Reformation (on the 2nd of May, 1817), addressed a letter to Bishop Sack and Provost Hanstein, in which were these words: "I expect from you propositions for the easiest and most appropriate manner of uniting the two slightly divergent confessions."¹ Many thought this reunion altogether too light a matter. The wounds seemed to them united and healed over of themselves. Though the rationalistic period was still in progress, few Lutherans believed firmly in a corporeal presence of Christ in the Lord's Supper, and few of the Reformed still adhered consistently to the doctrine of unconditional election. Now if one body would surrender the first point, and the other the second, the union could be very easily effected. But it is plain that a union which merely cancels differences, and destroys one zero by another, is neither real nor satisfactory. The more rigid minds could not conscientiously consent to part with the confession of their church at such an

¹ See Hanstein's *Denkmal*. Berlin, 1821. p. 108.

easy price, in order, finally, to let everything subside into the loosest indifference. Rather, there was ground for expecting that if a union of the confessions could once be effected, the recollection of the antitheses, which had been hitherto kept in the background, would immediately reappear with renewed power; indeed, even the same peace-makers who were called to give their aid to the union, such as Schleiermacher, started the discussion of these differences. Schleiermacher was the very first Reformed theologian, after a long period, who defended acutely the doctrine of election.¹

It was only after many dilatory negotiations that the union was even outwardly effected. It took place in Prussia in 1821, and almost simultaneously in the grand-duchy of Baden, in Nassau, Rhenish Bavaria, Anhalt-Bernburg, Hesse, and Würtemberg; and in most places it was brought to pass with the most careful respect for conscientious convictions, and even with the toleration of those who would not unite. And yet it was impossible to adjust everything. To Prussia there now came a new stone of offence. In order to give to the united churches a common liturgy, in accordance with the necessities of the new period, the King of Prussia had a liturgy prepared by a committee, in which the outward Lutheran ceremonies appeared sharply, but in which it was impossible that the Reformed, who had not previously been accustomed to such things, should feel satisfied unless the Lutherans, from whom there was also something taken, should declare themselves perfectly contented with the proposed substitute.

The king first introduced the new liturgy only into the court and garrison chapels, but recommended it to all the congregations in the country. But it met with much opposition. The adherents of the early theology of illuminism found it too orthodox, too much in sympathy with the old ecclesiasticism; they did not perceive in it their own theological opinions, but just the reverse; and it was from their stand-

¹ With his essay: *The Doctrine of Election*, he commenced the *Theologische Zeitschrift*, which he published in 1819 and the following years, in connection with De Wette and Lücke, and which became an organ of the new theology, that strove to get beyond the old points of opposition.

point that they very properly hesitated to make use of expressions and ceremonies with which they could connect no other sense than one contradictory to their convictions. To the Reformed people the burning of candles in broad daylight, and the kneeling and singing of the preacher before the altar, and the like, seemed utterly Catholic; and on the other hand, the liturgy seemed to the rigid Lutherans too concessive to the Reformed, and too indefinite and flexible. There were also those who brought over their political ill-humor into this department, and charged the king with arrogating supremacy over the conscience, so as more easily to gain other ends. The controversy now became legal, and the jurists and theologians pronounced their different opinions in answering the question as to how far the king, as the prince of the country, was authorized in prescribing his ecclesiastical usages to the people, and in foisting a particular service upon them.

And in this controversy Schleiermacher also gave his voice in favor of freedom of conscience.¹ It was only after new negotiations and revisions, in which all possible consideration was shown for personal wishes and the traditions of the country, that the liturgy entered into full force with the year 1830, as that of the United Evangelical State Church.

But yet the opposition to the union had a public outbreak. Who would have believed that, after the times when it was thought that everything positive had been removed, and when particularly the old ecclesiastical controversies were supposed to be far in the background, these controversies should again violently obtrude themselves, and not on the part of the unenlightened masses, but of the most cultivated people in the nation. We find at the head of this excitement not only professional theologians (chiefly Dr. Scheibel of Breslau, Guericke, and others), whom it might be thought that the spirit of learned controversy had seduced to extreme measures; but men of intellect and spirit, of the most liberal and frank sentiments, such as the genial Steffens, now threw them-

¹ *Das liturgische Recht des evang. Landesfürsten*, by Pacificus Sincerus (Göttingen, 1824), and a number of other works.

selves in the front rank of old Lutheranism. Steffens himself, in his work entitled *How I Became a Lutheran and What Lutheranism is to Me*, gives us the best disclosure of his own feelings.¹ Even this vigorous son of the North was pervaded by the great conflict of the times, and had again been led from the plane of common illuminism to the heights and depths of a world of faith lying far beyond the comprehension of the understanding. He had applied himself to positive Christian faith with all the power of his mind, and this was to him, after the experience through which he passed, no other than the faith which he had become acquainted with, when a boy, in his catechism,—the Lutheran faith, with its characteristic definitions and rites. He assures us himself, that after he had again found the standpoint of Christianity, not merely by perception but by hearty attainment of it, Luther appeared to him in his true importance, as the mighty one who was called forth to give a new form to all the directions of history, not simply because he opposed the hierarchy, but because he delivered Christianity from the domination of the merely reflective understanding.

Steffens sees in the inward fellowship of the life of believers with Christ, as a fact which cannot be dissipated into a merely typical figure of speech, the real nature of Christianity, and therefore he calls the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in which this natural union is not only represented but realized as such, the highest individualizing process of Christianity. "By it," he says, "the whole mystery of redemption sinks, in all its rich fullness, into the receptive individual. The fruitful stream of grace, which since those days of its great regeneration, courses through all nature and history, and matures for a blessed future, assumes the form of the Savior, in order that he who is all in all may be solely for it. . . . That which the Christian believes, which pervades his whole life, and conquers death, becomes . . . certainty, enjoyment, and nourishment by the saving

¹ Breslau, 1831. Comp. also his work: *Von der falschen Theologie und dem wahren Glauben*, 1823; and various passages in his *Autobiography: Was ich erlebte*.

presence of the Savior (in the Lord's Supper). Only he who knows the nature of love (and only *he* knows it who has experienced it) can comprehend its inward character. Everything which we think and wish, every germinating idea of the spirit, everything grand and glorious that we behold and enjoy,—those traces of the original form which lay concealed in their earthly form, and were distorted, fettered, and imprisoned by the disordered life,—now pervade soul and body for a higher spiritual bond, and meet the present Savior. All that he has been and will be to the world, all that he taught and suffered, take form in us, that we may become *inward*; his words are himself—they are spirit and life. I am not a theologian; but religion, as it is to me higher than everything earthly, is to me the subject of profound reflection, and what I strove to make clear to myself in this manner, has become the fundamental view of my faith. The Lord's Supper is to me the highest, most weighty, and most mysterious of all religious transactions; yea, it seems so important to me that it gives the most unfathomable meaning to all doctrine."

We cannot here examine more closely this fundamental religious view of Steffens himself, nor ask whether this deep meaning of the Lord's Supper, as Steffens beautifully and strikingly explains it, can coincide with the correct view of the Reformed doctrine (Steffens himself calls the assertion of the opposite *uncharitable*); but I only hope that it has become clear to us, from this confession of the clever man, that his attachment to Lutheranism had other grounds than blind prejudice. As we have seen in Stolberg and Frederick Schlegel that highly intellectual and thoughtful men can apostatize to Catholicism, because the center of gravity of religious life appeared to them to lie there, so can we now very easily comprehend how Steffens, notwithstanding all his philosophy and extensive knowledge of nature, could be an orthodox Lutheran.

Moreover, we shall as little mistake the influence of Schelling's natural philosophy and of Romanticism here as in the case of Novalis or Schlegel. Such phenomena have, indeed, always been foolishness and an offence to the common understanding,

which allows itself to be carried off by every current of opinion, and thinks itself very shrewd if, in its embarrassment, which often amounts to rashness, it can take refuge in hypocrisy, and express the presumption that the people concerned are not in earnest in their opinions; or, in the most favorable instance, it ascribes it to a settled idea, to which even discreet people are sometimes subject. We do not envy the understanding of these people, who allow themselves to be contented by this means. But we believe that in the department of religious conviction there are mountains, beyond which it is not so easy to get, and of which those have no anticipation who are continually accustomed to walk along the plain, and see only flat land before them. We confess that to us such a powerful conviction, on which all the so-called rational reasons break as the waves of the sea against the jagged rocks, is such a mountain, in Luther as well as in Steffens, and though we cannot very easily get away from it, let us allow it, in God's name, to stand undisturbed, and confess that it is too high for us. We honor conviction, even when intrenched behind this mountain, and we then understand all the sooner how others, who look at such examples, must find themselves strengthened in their opinions, and even in their prejudices.

While, therefore, we can only lament that the well-meant attempts at union were wrecked upon such strong convictions, let us guard against enforcing history according to our own notion, and leveling all the mountains. History often takes quite a different course from what we expected. It was so in the present case. All inquiring and wondering that such an affair could happen in the nineteenth century, is only a humiliation of the human understanding, whose calculations in both nature and history often miscarry. No one will deny that many human elements were mixed up in this controversy, which the old Lutherans conducted and still conduct against the Union, and that carnal zeal here had free scope; and the hearts of us Reformed must bleed when we learn that many of those whom we love and recognize as our evangelical brethren in faith, still regard us unworthy of their communion.

But nothing can be forced here.¹ And there was a failure in just this wish to force matters which should have been left, more than has been the case, to personal conviction and gradual historical development. Thus the Union even became a signal for further disturbances, which are quite fresh in our memory, and which, especially in Silesia, assumed an alarming form. The refractoriness and fanaticism of the old Lutherans called forth counter-movements on the part of the government. Removals, military force and emigration were the sad results, and, finally, there occurred a disunion among the rigid Lutherans themselves, some (and Steffens among the number) yielding to the force of circumstances, others pushing their cause to the utmost, and still others going to ruin in sectarianism.

We now return to Schleiermacher. Though he everywhere influenced the most important ecclesiastical events, it was he also who, in his twofold position of learned theologian and preacher, wrought so instructively, edifyingly and decisively upon the religious conviction. His *System of Doctrine*, first published in 1821, was designed for the Evangelical, that is, the United Church, and to meet alike the religious and scientific demands of the period. We cannot here enter into a detailed exhibition and estimate of it, but must be content with its fundamental features. What most of all distinguishes Schleiermacher's *System of Doctrine* from the earlier treatises of the kind is, that his book is indeed a system of *dogmatics*, an exposition of that which ought to be, and is, *believed*, and not the product of a philosophical school. Schleiermacher himself, in the noblest sense philosophically cultivated, and as an author distinguished in the sphere of philosophy, still set himself in earnest opposition to all attempts to confound philosophy with theology.²

¹ Schwarz has very properly called attention to the decided difference between the old Lutherans who at last became martyrs to their conviction, and the new Lutherans, who are now very comfortably borne on by the current of the times, and are favored by high and low (*Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*, p. 353 ff.).

² "Speculation and faith are often viewed as standing hostile to each other; but it was the peculiarity of this man to unite them most cordi-

With him, theology does not stand or fall with any philosophical system whatever, but only with religion and the church. Where there is no religion there is no theology, and where there is no experience in divine things such things cannot be understood, no matter how rich and extensive the philosophical knowledge. Religion, indeed, is not primarily a matter of knowledge, but of innermost self-consciousness, of the feeling—our feeling of dependence on God. Upon this feeling of dependence Schleiermacher founds his whole theology. Not what God is in himself, but what he is in his relation to this pious feeling of ours, is the problem which a system of doctrine has to solve. Inasmuch, however, as this pious feeling is only developed in communion, Christian dogmatics must also represent this common Christian feeling as it lives in the church.

But the Christian church, according to Schleiermacher, is not a crude mass of people of every shade of opinion, accidentally brought together, but a religious organism—that body of which Christ is the head. Christ the Redeemer, not merely an ideal thought-image, but the real historical Christ, as he once lived personally in history, and as he now lives a spiritual personality, and continues to work in the church, is, according to him, the very center of Christian theology. He knows nothing of a doctrine of Jesus which can be conceived and represented merely as doctrine, apart from his person; but only by coming into vital communion with the “Redeemer” can we become partakers of true Christianity. He proclaimed everywhere, in the pulpit and in his writings, with the greatest earnestness, that with Christ begins an entirely new era, both in the history of the world and in the life of the individual; that with him, the sinless One, the dominion of nature, the supremacy of sin, first ceases, and the kingdom of grace, the sovereign rule of the Divine Spirit, commences and spreads, and that thus out of Christ and without him there is no salvation. In this way Schleiermacher brought theology back

ally, without prejudice to the freedom and depth of the one, or to the simplicity of the other.” W. von Humboldt: *Briefe an eine Freundin*, Vol. II, p. 258.

to the faith from which it had departed. This was his great aim. The man who in everything was elevated above the letter, and whose very nature compelled him to conceive profoundly and spiritually whatever he touched, could not desire to establish a timid and slavish faith. While, therefore, with his distinct faith in Christ, from which he would not abate an iota, he might appear on the one side to many as a Mystic, as a philosophizing Moravian, who with his dialectics could make even nonsense appear plausible, on the other he did not fail to give offence by the freethinking style in which he expressed himself respecting particular doctrines, as well as individual books of Holy Scripture, and their relation to the whole;¹ for with him the essence of Christianity depended on none of these, but only on God's free grace in Christ.

Schleiermacher can be ranked with Herder so far as he, like Herder, has been very differently judged, some taking exception at his orthodoxy and others charging him with heterodoxy; and yet he, just as little as Herder, did not belong to any sworn guild of philosophers or to any complete philosophical school. Both men have given a great incitement to youth, the latter by his *Letters on the Study of Theology* and the former by his brief and concise *Statement of Theological Study* (Berlin, 1830). The two were also united in not being professional theologians, but, with their versatile learning, they became active as authors in other departments than the strictly theological, and by this means gained a recognition in other than theological circles. And yet they were very different. While Herder shone as a poet and historical author, Schleiermacher surpassed him by a more serious philosophical culture. Herder illuminated the darkness by the genial glow of his thoughts; Schleiermacher drew the fine thread whereon the most difficult inquiries hung, through the labyrinth of opposing thoughts. Imagination receded in the latter behind the dialectics of an understanding supported by feeling. While Herder united a perception for ancient Grecian learning with profound views of Oriental life, Schleier-

¹ See his *Sendschreiben an J. C. Gass* (on 1 Timothy), Berlin, 1807, and his *Schriften des Lukas* (1817).

macher's culture remained decidedly Occidental. Hence he has been charged with having too little regard for the great importance of the Old Testament, while Herder, with his most hearty religion, was at home in this department, and left room for the desire that his appreciation of the New Testament were higher.

We may say that, in a certain measure, they supplemented each other, Herder very significantly standing at the beginning of the critical period, and Schleiermacher at its end. And, as we commenced our historical description of this critical period with Herder, so we might close it with Schleiermacher; for what now remains to be said, encroaches too seriously upon the present time to be fully ripe for historical description. Yet this much may be said: Schleiermacher enjoys an abundant intellectual posterity; for we not only reckon among his disciples those who communicated his doctrine in his words, as they received it from him, but we estimate far higher the impulse which he gave to theological study in general, and the blessing which he has been the means of imparting through others. Many have set out from him who afterward took a direction far more positive than his. Yet it was often said that he led the people to Pietism! Others of his followers struck other paths. But we may say without hesitation, that every important theologian of either tendency during the last decades, who has not had the privilege of sitting at Schleiermacher's feet and feeling the power of his thought, could have gained far-reaching and brilliant rays of light from the study of his works. Yet there was opposition, which showed itself from different sides. The older Rationalism felt uncomfortably affected by the new life now beginning to stream through the church. It charged Schleiermacher with duplicity, and upbraided him with pantheism, which it was alleged that he could wrap up and disguise in Christian language.¹ But this charge, as we have seen, can only rest on a misconception, when we compare him with those who arbitrarily took their departure from the historical

¹ Even the name *Schleiermacher* (*veil-maker*) had to be subjected to many a poor jest.

ground of Christianity, and dissipated everything in the mist of their own speculation. But the rigidly orthodox, in the sense of Harms, did not make use of Schleiermacher's theology. They shunned and even despised the acuteness of his criticism, and required an unconditional return to the old theology. But the number of Schleiermacher's adherents sensibly increased, and they gradually grouped around names constantly growing in importance, who started their own organs.

And is it astonishing that the masses (both the clergy and the laity), who neither possessed the capacity to follow the intellectual process of the new theology in its finer developments, nor the patience to wait for its issue, desired and laid hold of the results that had been obtained, where this theology was presented with the confidence of a "decided faith?" But soon everything seemed to undergo a change in the theological horizon. While not enough could be thrown overboard ten or twenty years previously, there now sprang up in the younger generation a strong desire to excel their fathers and grandfathers in genuine old orthodoxy. The younger school wished the old system back again, and the older would not let go what had once seemed young and new to them. As there now came upon the scene a new philosophy, which threw to the ground the authority of Kant and his school, and promised overthrow to Rationalism and a safe support to ecclesiastical orthodoxy, so the triumph now seemed complete. Only this question remained: Whether this philosophy could be permanently trusted, or whether an enemy still more dangerous than the former might not be lurking behind it? This new philosophy was the Hegelian system, of which we shall speak in the next lecture.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE HEGELIAN PHILOSOPHY: ITS RIGHT AND LEFT SIDES.—
STRAUSS.—FEUERBACH AND BRUNO BAUER.—OTHER PHILO-
SOPHICAL TENDENCIES.—THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE PER-
SONAL GOD.—MODERN SCIENCE IN GENERAL AND THE
THEOLOGY OF THE PRESENT TIME.—THE PRACTICAL CHRIS-
TIANITY OF OUR DAY.—MODERN PIETISM.—THE POWER OF
FAITH AND LOVE.—PASTOR OBERLIN.

We enter the last stage of the historical development of Protestantism by treating the Hegelian philosophy on its scientific side. We thus enter upon the present, on the boundary between what has transpired and the uncertain future. Hegel himself is no more among the living, and his system cannot be considered as fully within the province of history. Moreover, the divergent effects of the Hegelian philosophy did not come to light till after the author's death, and hence, besides their difficult nature, it is doubly difficult to say what Hegel himself wished and aimed at in religious and ecclesiastical matters. As in considering the earlier philosophers, Kant, Fichte and Schelling, we had to desist from a satisfactory view of their systems as a whole, we must here have still more modest desires, because only a complete knowledge of earlier systems, which is wanting in the present case, would make it possible to understand the Hegelian system. Besides, no other of the earlier philosophies is so purely and exclusively speculative as this, none offers less popular points of view than this, none less than this can be transformed into other words and conceptions without doing violence to

its own nature, because Hegel himself unites only a certain conception with a certain word, and expects us to study ourselves into a language totally new. A Hegelian lexicon and grammar are, however, not so easily formed. As far as this system, as such, is concerned, we must necessarily satisfy ourselves with but little, and can only introduce what stands in most intimate connection with the religious and Christian view of life.

While Schleiermacher, in harmony with Jacobi, placed the essence of religion chiefly in feeling, and considered knowledge secondary and collateral, Hegel, on the other hand, laid chief stress on knowledge. To him, feeling was only a subjective form of religion, and really the worst of all forms, because it is only subjective, that is, it is connected with the individual personality. Consequently, that feeling of independence in which Schleiermacher places religion, is, in his eyes, nothing better than that instinctive feeling of independence which attaches a dog to its master. But in the department of knowledge, Hegel further distinguishes between the religious conception, as it proceeds from feeling, and the idea or notion. The lower classes can satisfy themselves with religious conceptions (of heaven, hell, etc.), but not the true thinker. He discovers in conceptions a contradiction between what the conception *should* express and what it really *does* express. This contradiction, as Hegel says, must be removed, that is, it must be changed into something higher and above contradiction.

The gradation of religious knowledge in individuals and nations is this: that man should take the religious matter present to him as something exterior, foreign and distinct from him, without being thoroughly penetrated by it. The immediate requirement is, therefore, that he inquire into the matter, appropriate it, and be penetrated by it; but in doing this, it easily happens that he subjects the nature of what is revealed to his arbitrary authority, and makes the things into what they should be to him instead of taking them as they really are. In reference to religion, the early period took the former course; positive orthodoxy accepted the

traditional material just as it was presented,—as a hard, tough mass; reason subjected its opinions and inclinations to what the church approved. The later period, on the other hand, distinguished itself by striving to appropriate and arrange what was offered to it. In the former instance an objective torpidity arose; in the latter, subjective authority.

The new philosophy attempts to elevate the thinking spirit above both these standpoints, since it neither permits the material offered to confront us in its stiffness and antagonism, nor concedes its change, against all the principles of right, into a picture of our subjective opinion and preference. The enmity between “the thing in itself,” which, as a ghost, had long provoked the philosophers, and the thinking Ego, should be removed in this way: that the individual should not place himself, thinking, guessing and supposing, before objects, and make a casual conception of them, according to his own pleasure, but that he enter into them with self-denial (though with freedom), permit the spirit controlling them to influence him, and thus gain supremacy over the conception, which pervades and moves objects. This is what Hegel calls immanence, the self-movement of the conception, the absolute process, or the chemistry of thought, in opposition to earlier mechanism.

Thus far we can recognize only a wholesome progress of knowledge in the Hegelian principle of thought. What Schelling had asserted of nature and our relation to it—that we must enter into its secrets, live within its still dreams, its phantasies and its thoughts, if we would attain a living perception of it—was demanded by Hegel, though with less poetry, but with all the sharper dialectics of thought, of those things which belong to the historical and ethical departments, jurisprudence, works of art, and religion. To the false and merely empirical realism of an exterior treatment, he would bring an ideal view of things, and on the other hand, lead back one-sided idealism to reality. The corporeal and material should be spiritualized, but the airy and shadowy character of a soul separated from its body should be again embodied, so that it should not be merely something cogi-

tated, but real and operative. He wished the time of negation to be followed by a period of affirmation; that of vacillation, opinion, and counsel by one of free, vital, and safe knowledge. The spirit must comprehend its own deepest roots, and wander no longer about as a dreamer among dreamers. And who would not willingly belong to those who are awake, after people had long permitted themselves to be led by one dream to another?

In strong opposition to Kant, who had deprived human reason of the right to philosophize on divine things, Hegel demanded back this right of search after God, yet not in the old way, as if the finite and prejudiced spirit of the individual could comprehend the infinite by its own self-desired proofs, but just the reverse. God comprehends himself in man, and comes to consciousness in him, for as God (according to the Bible) once became man in Christ, so will he (according to Hegel) always become man in us. According to Hegel, reason and speculation are not contradictory. Revelation, however, lays down as a general truth for the *conception* that which reason brings in the form of an *idea*. Since Hegel holds that the essence of true philosophy consists in not merely perceiving the human but also God, as he is, this is a prerogative which philosophy has in common with Christian revelation, though in a different manner; for the essence of Christian revelation cannot consist in its dismissing us with a few moral commonplaces, but in revealing to us the depths of the Godhead.

Hegel asks with Lessing: What would a revelation amount to which reveals nothing? But Hegel finds the essential point of revelation to consist in revealing God to us as the Triune One, and as the same whom philosophy perceives; for he also finds in the Deity the same process of separating what was originally one, and of reuniting what was separate, which he proves in the human process of thought. Thus he calls God, in his abstract, inseparable universality, the *Father*; but in so far as the known is distinct from the one knowing, with whom he is one, however, he is called the *Son*, while it is the *Spirit* which brings the twofold character

of Father and Son in the essence of God to the unity of consciousness.

Now, here it may be asked by a plain Christian man, whether these depths into which the Hegelian speculation leads us, are the same as those into which the saving Christian doctrine conducts those who desire salvation? And after some reflection, if he will not permit himself to be controlled by forms, he will soon learn that the knowledge to which the Holy Scriptures lead us, is not purely for the sake of knowledge and perception, but that it should serve for the confirmation of our salvation, and that the whole doctrine of Father, Son and Spirit, has a meaning for us only so far as we, as children, love the Father, permit ourselves to be saved by the Son, and reproofed and sanctified by the Spirit; for "if I have all knowledge," says the Apostle, "and have not charity (that is, the practical religion of the spirit, the pious, divinely-inspired disposition and course of life), I am nothing."

This practical signification of religious perception, its final purpose for our salvation, its pedagogic characteristic, so to speak, which Pietism conceived too dimly and Rationalism too superficially, and which Schleiermacher brought to light in its universal fruitfulness, was pushed aside by Hegel's speculative tendency. Let this speculative tendency have its perfect right in the proper place, but not supplant religion, or attempt, as a nobler form, to elevate itself above it. There will be other dialecticians besides Schleiermacher, and where the question concerns only speculative philosophy, he, the Plato of the nineteenth century, might say a word; but he was penetrating and humble enough to assign to knowledge its proper place, and to permit the religious life,—which, indeed, is not knowledge, but a definiteness of feeling, or rather of the most hearty sentiment,—to develop itself on its own soil, yet not in contradiction to knowledge, though in conscious and positive difference from it.

And here Hegel and Schleiermacher differed most decidedly; for while the former merges religion and theology into philosophy, the latter keeps them separate, and allows the life of pious feeling and religious communion, in a word, the life

of faith, independently of the development of philosophical systems, to enjoy a happy, vigorous growth from its own root; and yet he does not preclude it from the influence of speculation. And it remains down to the present time a question, whether those who think that the standpoint of the believer does not reach that of the philosopher, may not be well answered by saying, that the philosopher's thinking does not reach the standpoint of true faith. But these departments can no more be mingled in the soul than sound can be smelled, or color tasted. But there is still a further and more important difference between Hegel and Schleiermacher. Since Schleiermacher does not make religion dependent on philosophic thought, but views it as an experience of the pious man, the positive historical appearance of the Savior into the world, the *historical Christ*, and the institution of the church founded by him, have far more significance on Schleiermacher's theology than in the philosophy of Hegel, of whom it is often uncertain how far his expressions about the God-man refer to the real Christ, or to the ideal and speculative Christ, to whom the historical Christ is related as species to genus. We shall return to this point again in speaking of Strauss.

If we now ask what was Hegel's influence upon his times, we shall see that he was decidedly opposed to the prevailing theology of reason (Rationalism). What was called *reason* he opposed as a mischievous play of prejudice, as ridiculous twaddle, as dead formalism. In opposition to the insipid, rationalizing illuminism of the understanding, which had extended far and wide, he advocated the profound orthodoxy, and even restored the despised Scholastics to honor. He denied that the Rationalists possessed a theology, since God was unknown to them. The really grammatical, historical exposition of the Bible, in which many of the rationalistic school had engaged, appeared to him merely insipid and literal,—an opinion too willingly endorsed by his disciples, who preferred the use of philosophical technicalities to the serious study of the Hebrew grammar and similar works.

But Hegel also arrayed himself decidedly against the polit-

ical liberalism then fermenting among the students. In decided opposition to the ideal improvers of the world, who, discontented with the present, dreamed of new constitutions and forms of government, he advanced the proposition, which has been so much misunderstood, that, what is really in existence is *right and reasonable*. If, for example, reason does not exist so much in us as in the things themselves, as the treasure hid in the field, it is all-important that we dig up the treasure, over which the multitude had wandered. We must understand the matter in its real character, and not, setting out from abstract ideals, arbitrarily regard it as something foreign, inflexible and hostile, but penetrate it with our spirit, and become conscious of its own spirit. This sentiment was certainly a good corrective for hasty youthful pride, while a great law for the study of history was gained by it. The Middle Ages, and everything that had taken shape since then, now appeared very different. While formerly every one had placed himself haughtily above history, he now learnt to subject himself to it, and to have respect for what had acquired historical permanence. Thus this philosophy, on its first appearance, was welcomed by all those who feared youthful political enthusiasm. The historical school seemed to receive from Hegel as firm a support in law, art and politics, as ecclesiastical orthodoxy acquired.

And yet matters changed very soon. Hegel had scarcely closed his eyes, when, in close connection with what the July Revolution in France (1830) had accomplished, the disciples of this philosopher, under the name of Young Germany, proclaimed a doctrine which men of order had far more reason to fear than the youthful political dreams of the so-called Teutonians. They pulled down with the same dialectical dexterity with which the master had seemed to build up. And this they appeared to do without being untrue to their system; for when revolution once became the actual order of the day, it could appear to be justified by the proposition, that, what is *real* is *right*. With the change in the political horizon, there also occurred a change in the theories adapted to the times. France, which gave the first alarm, now ap-

peared a model state, and Napoleon, the hero of that nation, for whom Hegel had earlier manifested no little sympathy, now became the hero of Young Germany. Men laughed at the old Wartburg stories, the German coats, and the like, and cosmopolitanism, as reflected in new France, was elevated to a political dogma.

Had this occurred only in politics, it would be of no further concern to us; but our experience was the same in theology. Hegel had restored to authority the positive element in theology; in his teachings orthodoxy seemed to receive a new and firm, because strongly scientific, support, though it was evident to those who could not be deceived by mere forms, that Hegel's orthodoxy was not of a serious cast, nor what the real admirers of the master wished it. The Hegelian Trinity was neither that of Athanasius and of the symbolical books nor of the Bible or Bible Christians, and Hegel could less repel the suspicion of pantheism than Schleiermacher, whose speculative view was supplemented by that of faith. The indefiniteness, ambiguity, and oracularness which, with all his lavishness of logical acuteness and all his famous severity of method, were not wanting in Hegel's works, could alone make it possible that the disciples, soon after his death, should dispute about the master's words, separate into two parties, which, with a perverted reference to the political parties in Parliament, have been called the Right and Left sides. The Right side, represented by honorable, learned and intelligent men, and also by those who had been first incited by Schleiermacher, aimed to prove that Hegel was serious with Christianity, and that only by pursuing this course could Rationalism and Supernaturalism be truly reconciled. It replies to the charge that the new speculation perverts the doctrines of the church, by saying, that it gives them a deeper and more vital force, for they had been formerly petrified by some and made superficial by others. Pantheism (they further taught) is only a bugbear to those who cannot reconcile themselves to a God dwelling in the world, and who need a personal God for their selfish and personal aims.

The Left side found its most decided and expert advocate

in Strauss, who declared in his *Life of Jesus*, that what the church and the believing world had previously accepted as history, is not history, but myth. The word myth was nothing new; neither did it originate with the Hegelian school. The mediatory theologians had long relied upon the thought, that not every Biblical narrative must be considered real history, still less to be interpreted in a natural way, as the Rationalists had attempted, but that events of a higher spiritual life, as they occur at all times in the sphere of faith, are repeated, and meet in the form of histories, whose contents we should separate from the outward form.

Even the early Origen had tended this way, with his allegorical interpretation, and the Mystics had made a similar effort; and with clearer consciousness the new theology attempted to separate history from symbol, which was veiled in a historical garb. De Wette, proceeding from this new (modern) consciousness, has thrown a great part of the Old Testament narratives into the mythical realm, and Schleiermacher did not hesitate to consider the accounts of the early youth of Jesus and his last ascension to the Father, as the poetical expression of the truth, that the beginning and end of this wonderful life should be as little measured by the laws of common experience as this life itself. It was thought that such narratives could be rescued from the hands of unbelievers by thus removing them to a department which was closed to the commonplace understanding. But what occurred within the bounds of moderation was extended beyond measure by Strauss, who thought, not only that the shell contained mythical elements, but that the kernel of the life of Jesus was the production of the pious poetic fancy attributed to him by the early Christian church. This new critic, not allowing the waves of the poetic spirit to play over the surface of the Gospel legend, invoked from its depths a giant form hitherto unknown, which, by pious fiction, succeeded in moving the world from its old orbit, and in calling into existence the Christian religion. Strauss suddenly reversed the previous relation. Christ had not established the church, but the church had invented its Christ, had spelled him out

of the Old Testament prophecies, and out of the prevalent hopes and expectations founded on them. A thick crust of miraculous stories had gathered about this thin kernel, and hence it is difficult to find any real history.¹

But apart from the improbability and conjecture on which Strauss attempted to establish this view in particular, it appeared very remarkable to a profound thinker, who would not be led astray by the illusive appearance of the argument, how the Christian church could grow into such an ideal, without the fruit of real experience and observation. The *personal* support is here wanting in history, as is ever the case in pantheistic systems. But Strauss would have furnished a powerful witness to the power of the religious idea, if that idea alone had really succeeded in inventing a Christ. We are reminded of Herder's words: "Did the fishermen of Galilee invent such a history? Then blessed be their memories that they did do it!," and of those of Claudius: "One might even die for such an idea." Strauss himself said, that, according to his view, the historical Christ is lost, but that the ideal, divine-human Christ contributed more to religious elevation than the Jesus of the Rationalists, who, though historical, was only human, and destitute of all identity.

It soon became evident how slight was the support of an ideal Christianity deprived of its historical foundation; and only a few years passed by after the appearance of Strauss' *Life of Jesus* before the entire contents of the Christian doctrine with which he had comforted his readers in the Appendix, were torn to pieces in a dogmatic way before their eyes, and scattered to the winds, as mercilessly as had been the exterior life of the Savior himself. Thus, those who had hoped that Strauss would rebuild dogmatically what he had destroyed historically, found themselves bitterly deceived on the appearance of his *System of Doctrines* (1840). He now declared, that modern science and the faith of Christians never sprang from a common source, and that a reconciliation was im-

¹ Strauss, as is well known, boasted of his freedom from hypothesis and would not look at the hypothesis on which he himself built, and which others proved to him.

possible. Others soon harmonized here with Strauss. Indeed, who would believe that there were those (as Bruno Bauer) who could go beyond Strauss, by calling what he had regarded as pious invention and the aggregate work of religious fanaticism, the intentional device of an individual, and by representing, not only the contents of all positive (revealed) religion as false, but (with Feuerbach) the religion of man in general as self-deception, as an ignoble game, which man practiced on himself by worshiping as God the reflection of his own inward nature? What else could follow from these hypotheses but the conclusion, so welcome to many, that the gloomy religion of the future, which restrained man, must cease, and give place to a cheerful philosophy of the present life?¹ If to this philosophy a young poetic school corresponding to it should be added, which orders the cross to be torn from the earth, and promises to resummon, not only the old gods of Greece (in Schiller's sense), but gross heathenism, of course the history of Protestantism is at an end, provided the edge of a bottomless abyss is really the aim for which Protestantism is striving.

I should indeed have a melancholy feeling if, after leading you through such a winding path, sometimes through barren wastes and deserts, but again through many beautiful fields and luxuriant groves, I should have to lay down the staff of the guide and say: "We have reached the end." But, thank God, this is not the case. We have only followed one side to its termination, where endless negation is swallowed up in annihilation; but in this way we have fulfilled the unpleasant duty of showing where a philosophy torn loose from the heart

¹ We do not here inquire into the extent to which this extreme denial of religion is connected with the rehabilitation of the flesh and the communistic tendencies. We are glad to believe, that the champions of the former tendency in science did not harmonize with those of the latter; but no one can doubt that religious nihilism can aid those miserable efforts, and that moral and social weakness is a result of religious instability; and the future will give further proof of this. Indeed, it has already done this since the first ed. of this work. Comp. Schwarz, *Geschichte der neuesten Theologie*, p. 242 ff.

of God, and impelled merely by the mechanism of its own dialectics, must inevitably lead.¹

There is something very peculiar in the Hegelian philosophy. No one protested more violently than Hegel against a system which, without looking at things as they really are, merely philosophizes from certain hypotheses. He has well designated it as the *abstract* mode of thinking, and opposed it with the *concrete*. He very rightly demanded, that thought should master the deepest roots of the world and its phenomena, that it should go to the very bottom of things, and comprehend the fresh vigor of life. He has thus assigned a great task to the human mind, and saved the philosophers from a number of stray paths; and for this reason we would recognize all the greatness and importance of the Hegelian philosophy in calling back the mind from its ideal dreams to reality. But it must be all the more remarkable to us, that the great mass of Hegelians (they were ironically termed *Hegelings*) have fallen into the very error that their master wished to avoid, for it is not easy for a philosophy to appear more abstract and arbitrary than in the mouth of the inordinately puffed-up worshipers of this system. No other has been more riveted into a spiritless mechanism than this, which is continually speaking of *spirit*. None more than *this* philosophy, in the hands of *these* men, has more completely denied life as it is, or twisted facts into whatever shape it pleased. None has known how to play more deceptively with words, or scrubbed away more utterly the fragrance and splendor of reality. None has dissipated more thoroughly the personal, actual, and individual life, which it regards merely as a fleeting shadow, a passing wave, a "vanishing property" of things, though really their root and essence. Hence, human personality in history vanishes before it, just as God's personality into the great Universe.

We do not wish to be understood as pronouncing a judgment on Hegel's philosophy, as its author himself conceived it. We speak, I repeat it, of those who have unhappily applied

¹ Unless, to make use of a favorite Hegelian word, the lauded chemistry of thought itself is "enveloped" in mechanism.

its real or supposed results to a destructive theology. Therefore, though Hegelianism may be considered a giant's sword, which, when employed by a hero, can inflict many wounds, and may honorably give many a knightly battle, yet, when used by the children of our times, is like a sword in a child's hand, and may inflict serious injury. We leave undecided the question, whether the worthy men of the so-called Right side will be able to wrest the sword from the Left, so as to win the laurel wreath for their master and themselves.¹

It is, however, a consolation that the fate of religion, the church, theology, yea, of Christianity and of Protestantism, is not dependent on the course of this or that school of philosophy, nor on the victory of this or that system, but that quite different vital forces come into play, of which our philosophy, even the newest, does not dream; forces which God himself has implanted in man's religious nature, which he has awakened and called forth by the spirit of Christ, and which he has received into his church, and which he has renewed and strengthened in extraordinary times, as in the Reformation. Philosophy may endeavor to comprehend them, if an energy can be understood; it may discover and present, but cannot *create* them. It is always in the rear of life, just as the boy's net is behind the butterfly, and, like the boy, it often scrapes off the delicate coloring of the wings by clumsy seizure.

Let us therefore now direct our attention to practical life, and ask, how it has developed in the last decades within the sphere of Protestantism? We discover that Protestantism is not so badly situated as a glance at the results of the

¹ Schwarz very properly remarks: "The influence of Schleiermacher, though his labors were less noisy than Hegel's, has been far more permanent, and exercises a quietly and inwardly transforming power. Schleiermacher's influence still continues, while Hegel's has become exhausted and obsolete. . . . This so-called philosophy of reality met with its own fate. It has been a constant vacillation between bad empiricism and abstract formalism, between construction of the individual and incapacity for it." *Geschichte der neuesten Theologie* (New Ed.), p. 22.

newest philosophy and criticism has shown us. If, however, before we consider practical life we delay a moment with science and philosophy, we must confess, if we only listen to the voices on either hand, that there is still a faith, an energetic faith, to which knowledge is a matter of serious import. Beside Hegel's philosophy another one has developed itself, which may be called the philosophy of the personal God, and which numbers many adherents. Whether it places itself in the great historical development, and carries Hegel beyond himself (from pantheism to theism), or, turning from Hegel, pursues its own course, this much is certain: that the speculative tendency of the later period, notwithstanding its degeneration, has done the good service of compelling the mind to descend to the depths of knowledge. A superficial reasoning, as it was still possible under the name of philosophy thirty or forty years ago, has now become impossible. Men are now ever penetrating further the essence of things. Subjective opinions and predilections, indulgence in wonderful conceits from a contracted standpoint, can no more make way against the enlarged views to which our times are accustomed. The stiff and awkward manner of the earlier polemics has given place to skillful dialectics, which, instead of selfishly insisting on their own proposition, enter into the opinion of an opponent, and, instead of striking it down from without, seek to refute it from within, after fully comprehending and penetrating it.

Though the devastations produced by the Left side of the speculative school in ecclesiastical, political and ethical life, are greater and deeper than were the negative effects of Rationalism, the shallowness and dryness of a method of thought which once claimed to be the only rational one, have no more power. Even those who maintain boldly that religion and Christianity have outlived themselves, and are overcome by modern culture, speak more favorably and reasonably of earlier religious conditions than did the illuminists. They admit, at least, that what they consider insufficient for our day was all-important for that time, yea, that it had its perfect historical right. They acknowledge the services of the old theolo-

gians, of the Middle Ages, of Luther and his times, of Pietism, and Mysticism, though they deprived these phenomena of the right of a continued existence. Clearly, nature and art, history and science, are now viewed from a more intellectual point of view, and with more living eyes, than formerly. Every one, for example, who would now wish to prove, with petty and pedantic calculation, why nature must produce this or that order of creatures in a fixed number, why the greatest result is effected from this or that small accidental cause, or, with Campe, could see in art a *breadless* art, and in poetry only a luxury of language, would become an object of ridicule to both the pious and the irreligious.

Language has made infinite gain, and fullness and flexibility of thought have increased. Of course, words must still conceal many a weakness, gilding over many a thing which can not stand the test of proof; and, as Schiller once said that "language makes poetry for us," so now it can be affirmed that it philosophizes for us. And yet no one wishes it to be said of him, that he speaks of matters which he has not examined, that he cannot distinguish things; and even if there is an intrusion of much that is superficial and doubtful, there is at least a disposition to save the appearance of thoroughness, while formerly,—for example, at the time of Bahrdt and Basedow,—ignorance was unblushing, and boasted of gifted impudence. But those who stand at the head of the negative movement have more than an appearance of profundity; they have a sound and exact knowledge of particulars. In a word, culture is so very wide-spread that the individual cannot mislead the multitude by hasty notions and fancies, and check the course of inquiry. Study and labor are now required of everybody, whether friend or foe. Whoever would build up or tear down must at least put himself to some trouble; he must command the respect of his opponent by science, and prove his fitness; otherwise he will not be permitted to take part in the conflict.

This takes place also in theology. Every one who is acquainted with recent theology will agree with me, that far more is demanded of a young candidate in our day than was

the case twenty or thirty years ago. The earlier Rationalism had reduced the amount necessary to be appropriated from the Bible,¹ church history and dogmatics, because it regarded this apparatus as superfluous, and held that everything might be deduced from reason and only connected with certain passages in the Bible; while erring Pietism had interpreted in favor of ignorance the sentiment, that "to love Christ is better than all knowledge." But the science of our day, whatever be its theological view, demands a solid exegetical, historical and philosophical education. The theologian must know everything in his department, trace it back to its historical origin, and know how to analyze it. While the former expositors of the Bible on both sides made the mistake of seeking their own opinions in the Scriptures, and displayed their art in twisting this and that passage to favor their own system, later theological science has broken loose from this reprehensible use of Scripture, and aims at an explanation as independent as possible of personal opinions. Thus, for example, the natural explanation of miracles has lost cast for ever; and Strauss has done the most to represent it in its ridiculous and untenable character, and to make its restoration impossible.

But the study of the Bible in the last decades has not only gained in impartiality, but in freshness and interest. How very different are a Pauline epistle and the Gospel of John now explained at the universities from what they were a quarter of a century ago! About that time vitality began to appear, and since then there have sprung up a vigor and emulation in Scriptural study, which, in spite of occasional errors, are truly gratifying. There is no more a disposition to explain meagerly the written letter, but to penetrate the inmost depths of the Biblical writer's soul, and by them to understand him. The impression which Herder made in this direction more than half a century ago, now began first to be of general influence, and to be followed with greater results, as the other

¹ According to Kant, the latter is distinguished from the former by its positive learning. Yet, as Hegel has very justly charged it, this was often dead and disconnected.

means of interpretation had been increased and purified since his time.¹

While at the time of illuminism, church history was regarded as a history of human folly, as a collection of anecdotes for the amusement of enlightened heads, now the force and inspiration of the Christian spirit began to be observed in single periods. Men began to see behind the strange forms a life which should not be strange to us; and though at first some surprise was expressed when Neander declared the task of the church historian to be "the representation of the history of the church of Christ as an eloquent proof of the divine power of Christianity, as a school of Christian experience, as a voice of edification resounding through all centuries, and a voice of culture, doctrine and warning for all who are willing to hear;" and though this language was declared to be Pietistic, yet Neander's method of viewing history soon gained the upper hand.

Even in history men had grown tired of the so-called pragmatism, which explains events by abstract generalities. There was once more a desire for the concrete, the vital, the glowing, and the aromatic. The taste for special historical studies was now cultivated with unparalleled fervor. The lives of worthy men and distinguished lights in the church were portrayed with love and candor. Their thinking, their inclinations, and even their weaknesses were studied. Men placed themselves with the spirit of self-denial in the midst of the very time in which they lived; consequently, in place of a dry narration of facts, there entered a living representation, in which light and shade were tastefully distributed, as in a good picture. A new interest arose in the monuments of Christian art and customs; more than mere masses of stones were again seen in ecclesiastical edifices, and as a taste for symbol and profundity began to develop itself, so did men begin to perceive behind the dogmas of the church

¹ This was also the case in the sphere of linguistic and classical science. Creuzer's *Symbolik* created a totally different view of mythology, to say nothing of the great reform introduced into philology by F. A. Wolf.

a deep meaning, where only nonsense had been earlier imagined. Special attention was now bestowed upon the old hymns, and while in 1780 and 1790 rhyming prose was substituted for poetry, there arose after 1830 a great and ever increasing discontent with what had been derived from the earlier period. Now the old hymns were adopted, and in some cases with extreme partiality. Whoever will compare the improvement in the hymn books of our time with those of 1780 and 1790, will clearly see what a different spirit now pervades them.

Preaching, too, was very different. The stiff logical regularity which was so highly valued in Reinhard's time, was compelled to give way to greater variety of forms and a freer flow of feelings. The most different modes of preaching prevailed simultaneously. While Schleiermacher unfolded to his educated readers, in close succession of thought, the deep views of divine life with a peculiar art of speech,¹ Dräseke surprised by bold imagery and flashes of thought; others, again, moved the masses alienated from God by the preaching of repentance. We have already spoken of Harms' preaching. His bold appeal against the force of rules was: "We must speak with tongues." With his striving for originality there were much ornament, exaggeration, untruth, as with the talented F. Krummacher and many other preachers of recent date. Yet it cannot be denied that the progress which the German language had made through its poets, exerted a beneficial effect on sacred eloquence, in whose productions it is easy to trace also the influence of the classics and of Romanticism.

If we now ask how these sermons were received by the

¹ On Schleiermacher's style of preaching, compare the work of Al. Schweizer, *Darstellung Schleiermacher's als Prediger*. Also W. von Humboldt, *Briefe an eine Freundin*, Vol. II. p. 258: "People were unjust enough to call that *eloquence* which distinguished Schleiermacher as a preacher, because it was a freedom from all art. His power lay in his so speaking as to penetrate the heart; it was the convicting, piercing, ravishing outflow of his feeling, which was not so much illuminated by the most extraordinary intellect as it was the spontaneous outflow of the heart."

congregations, we shall learn that, notwithstanding all the complaints at the worldliness of that time, in the later period the churches in the larger cities, which were empty during the Revolution and the French domination, were filled with persons of the higher and cultivated classes. Thus we see a greater interest in ecclesiastical life during the last decades. Worship and church polity, things about which there was no interest whatever at the time of illuminism, and were left to go to ruin, once more became subjects of general interest. Schleiermacher contributed his share toward effecting this improvement. While at the time of Rationalism attendance at church was only regarded as respect for the preacher, all the rest—singing, prayer and the Lord's Supper—was considered merely secondary, and only designed for the weak. Indeed, while it was boldly acknowledged that the educated attended church merely for the sake of example, and while ministers dared to recommend it only on this account, it was now found that man had other necessities than simply to instruct and divert himself; that he needs edification for his soul, for the welfare of his own inner life, and that this can be firmly supported and vitally expressed only in the fellowship of believers. Even Hegel declared that worship was the highest deed of the human spirit,—which, indeed, the disciples of the Left refer to the worship of their genius.

Both clergy and laity became interested in the constitution and regulation of the external affairs of the church. While during the Rationalistic period the territorial system predominated,—a system by which the affairs of the church, like those of justice, police and finance, came under the authority of the state,—because ministers were to some extent regarded as moral policemen, as officers of public morality, it was now again remembered that Christ did not found his church by a cabinet order proceeding from the Emperor Augustus or King Herod, and that the Apostles did not preach on account of the government, though they counseled obedience to civil authority, but that the church was free down to the time of Constantine, regulating its own affairs, and relying on no other power than the energy of the Holy Spirit—the original vital

power of the church. Men looked upon the United States, where the church is freely developed, without the support and the confinement of the state.

Yet it was very justly objected by others that the times had changed, that it belonged to Christianity not to remain a sect, or to divide into a multitude of sects, as in the United States, but rather to penetrate with its living breath the life of the state and of the people, and that therefore a free activity of the church in the state is certainly more advantageous than their violent and unnatural separation. Indeed, the *Christian* state (very different from the state police-church) was designated by Hegel's philosophy as the only rational and real state. Opinions may differ on this subject down to the present day; yet the fact that many reflected on the relations of church and state, and thought the subject worthy of their pains, is an eloquent and cheering sign. But men did not stop with theories. In many parts of Germany an ecclesiastical life was marked out by the introduction and regulation of synods, as in the Rhenish provinces of Prussia, and in Baden. Attempts were at least made in other countries to promote ecclesiastical life in the congregations, by means of church discipline and the introduction of church officers. In this department, too, Schleiermacher took the lead with his organizing mind.

But not only in the department of the church, so far as this was limited by definite territorial boundaries, but also in the broad sphere of Christian life and work,—in what is called the kingdom of God, in distinction from all human limitation,—we notice in the last decades a great movement, an activity, zeal and self-sacrifice which we find nowhere else in the whole history of Protestantism. While formerly it seemed, with few exceptions, to be reserved for only Pietism, Methodism, and the Moravians to preach Christianity to the heathen, to spread the Bible and Christian knowledge among the masses, and to found institutions for Christian training and beneficence, and while, with these efforts something similar was attempted by philanthropinism from its standpoint, we find that now the truly *Christian* spirit, which is divine

as well as human, attempted to mark out more and more a course for itself, to overcome prejudice, and to introduce a practical unity of spirit, where it was utterly impossible on the basis of the written letter. Thus the missionary and the Bible societies, which first became domesticated on the Continent after the second decade of the present century, have actually accomplished that union for which men had so long exercised their brains;¹ and thus men have assisted each other to perform Christian works of love on the ground of evangelical sentiment, and those have extended to each other the fraternal hand who stood far apart in doctrinal opinions. Christianity and philanthropinism, which were at first hostile to each other, now came together. Thus, for example, the good element of Pestalozzi's method was introduced into those institutions for training, and into schools for the poor, which had stood on a positive Christian basis.

But if one say that this wide-spread and continually increasing activity is Pietistic, and controlled by Pietistic principles, he must at least confess that Pietism is still a *power* in our day, which feels and makes itself felt, and which will not soon retire, and leave the field to liberalism, communism, and the like. It must at least be granted, that the *positive* power of Christianity balances the negative, though we cannot suppress the wish that between those who desire the advancement of the good and true in Protestantism, and at the same time its light and strength, there might be a more pervasive and general understanding than heretofore. We cannot relinquish this hope, and quietly fold our hands, however checkered and forbidding the prospect sometimes may be. Fortunately, that which excites the attention of scholars and assumes a systematic form, is not always the support of the church. But it is the Spirit, that blows how and where it will, preparing its instruments in a thousand ways,—that Spirit which

¹ Unfortunately this praise must be limited in the most recent time, when blind confessional ignorance threatens to destroy the beautiful work of harmony. (Note in Ed. of 1849). It would be necessary to write a special work on what would now be proper to say. Comp. Bunsen's *Zeichen der Zeit*.

often appears most powerful in those who appear weak in the estimation of the world. We must not forget that the power of faith, as Luther possessed it, has often manifested itself in a quiet and humble sphere of labor, and has given proof of the Gospel spirit.

In order to conclude the present lecture with a living, personal impression, we will leave the intricacies of the Hegelian philosophy, where we commenced it, and catch a breath of the pure, fresh air. We pass into a solitary vale, wild by nature but improved by the hands of man. We see a plain figure, one of God's worthiest priests. If it would not be unprotestant, we would call him, as a certain Protestant writer, Hase, has done, "a saint of his church."¹ We mean Pastor Oberlin, of the Steinthal. He is well known to you all, and therefore I will only remind you of him by recalling his image. From the larger and smaller accounts of his life, by Stoeber and Schubert, we learn the following facts. The son of a Strasburg scholar, he was born in the year 1740, and received a careful Christian training. With the firm confidence of a disciple and apostle of Christ, he became pastor of Waldbach in the year 1767. He trod in the footsteps of a worthy predecessor, and communed with the noble friends of humanity whom he found in that desolate place, which, though he did not convert into a paradise, he did transform into a friendly dwelling-place of industrious men, in whose hearts and families he supplanted roughness of sentiment and indolent habits by steady and active Christianity.

When we behold this apostolic man become a pattern of self-denial, self-conquest and trust in God, of a mild and peaceful heroism, yet always subjecting himself to the laws of God and man; when we meet him in the storms of revolution, preserving with prudence and determination, amid fanatics and revolutionists, a Johannean spirit, which compelled their respect; when we find him, finally, in his extreme old age active in the service of his master, until called to heaven in the year 1825, we cannot longer doubt the power of the religious spirit which, in the midst of devastating

¹ *Kirchengeschichte*, 4th Ed. p. 513.

forces, bears an eloquent witness for the church, in which and for which this power was active. It is very apparent in Oberlin's case, how such demands of time, as were expressed in philanthropinism, were first safely and permanently realized in practical Christianity. How often was it declared at the time when Sebaldu Nothanker was written, and very much was said of the usefulness of the ministerial office, that the pastor must also understand agriculture, and aid his peasants in a secular way, if he would ennoble them morally, and win them to the reception of divine truth! But these ideals of the preacher remained on philanthropic paper, and became only waste paper, without being transformed into flesh and blood.

Oberlin did the one without leaving the other undone. He gave heavenly and earthly instruction at the same time, and united the two. The "pray and labor" was not something disjointed, but united, and therefore blessed. The same was the case with ecclesiastical union. Not only did the difference between the Reformed and the Lutheran confessions vanish here completely, but even Catholics attended Oberlin's preaching, and he himself declared to a Catholic nobleman, that to him every Christian was welcome who believed in our natural depravity and in the necessity of our return to God. It was on the positive ground of this faith, and not on the negative basis of indifference, that he believed in union, and therefore even Catholic Christians could go to his grave and remember him in love. Oberlin's life reminds us sometimes of Lavater and Stilling, for we find in it remarkable, wonderful, and peculiar elements. But remarkable men can also be peculiar, and, for the sake of the wonders which they accomplish, we can receive that remarkable element which is attached to the mortal and corruptible man.

For this reason, gifts are differently distributed. While some stand out upon the philosophic observatory, and often wait long in vain for the star which is to lead them to worship the Savior of the world, others *do* with simplicity what the good angel teaches them. An adherent of Hegel's philosophy,¹

¹ Mager, *Brief an eine Dame über d. Hegel. Philos.* Berlin, 1837.

who has attempted to make it comprehensible to women, has confessed that philosophy is only a barometer,—that it does not *make* the weather, but only *indicates* it. Practical Christians also do not *make* the weather; but they do not simply observe it, as the philosophers do, for sowing, plowing and gathering. They do not shun the heat of the day, and truly their reward is not less than that of the philosophers. But the weather brings growth and prosperity, which alone give what no philosophy can furnish—a new heart, and a conscientious and joyous spirit. He who has these can be comforted, in spite of the mazes through which the church must yet pass. He is true who has called us, and He it is who will perform.

LECTURE XIX.

ON PROTESTANTISM OUTSIDE OF GERMANY: IN HOLLAND, DENMARK, SWEDEN, NORWAY.—ENGLAND: METHODISM AND ITS PERVERSIONS.—THE JUMPERS, SHAKERS, SOUTHCOTTIANS, AND OTHER SECTS.—IRVING AND THE IRVINGITES.—THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.—THE BISHOPRIC OF JERUSALEM.—PUSEYISM.—FRANCE: GUIZOT AND COQUEREL.—THE GENEVAN CHURCH.—THE MOMIERS.—GERMAN SWITZERLAND: ZÜRICH, SCHAFFHAUSEN, BERNE, BASLE.—THE HOURS OF DEVOTION, AND MADAME KRUDENER.—SWISS SECTARIANISM.—THE WILDENSPUCHERS, ANTONIANS, AND NEW BAPTISTS.—THE QUARRELS ABOUT STRAUSS.—GENERAL RETROSPECT.—PROSPECT.

We have now pursued the history of the development of evangelical Protestantism down to the present, and could have concluded our series of lectures with the last, if we had been concerned with German Protestantism alone, and did not have to ask, how matters have been going on elsewhere in the Protestant world, and how other nations have been influencing Germany. We have purposely treated of the German church first, and in such detail that what remains to be said is only a necessary appendage; for German Protestantism is not only more intimately related to us in a popular view than that of France, England and Holland, but in Germany alone has Protestant theology undergone a vital development, and either drawn other countries into its process or left them far behind it. If, however, it were only for the sake of the comparison, we could not overlook other Protestant lands, for in some of

them, as in England, practical Christian life has assumed a new form, such as was not possible under existing circumstances in Germany.

Of the non-German nations, the history of theological development in Holland and Denmark has the most in common with Germany, and is best known to the Germans. Dutch theology has many points of resemblance to English theology, in so far as we observe in the works of its scholars a quiet and learned research on the secure basis of historical facts. Yet this observation is more applicable to the earlier than the later period. Most recently the church of Holland has been more interested in the movements of German theologians than England has been, and by this means a movement has been called forth concerning which we must say a word.¹

Down to the year 1795 the Reformed church of Holland was predominant, and preserved the rigid forms of the doctrines of Dort (1618). The Remonstrants, with the Lutherans, Catholics and Mennonites, were far in the minority. This condition of things was changed after the French domination in Holland, and by the establishment of the Batavian Republic. The separation of state and church led to a great many evils; but on the whole it was attended by a more unfettered development of the latter. That bondage of the teachers to the letter of the doctrines of Dort ceased, and the mind began to think more freely. Innovations in divine service were produced by the hymn-book, which, though only designed as a substitute for a mere psalm-book, yet created great opposition. A committee, nominated by the king, established in 1815 a general regulation for the constitution of the Reformed church in the kingdom of the Netherlands, by virtue of which a general synod should convene, in order to arrange the course and decision of ecclesiastical matters in the simplest and most impartial way. This synod should, further, lay down a more appropriate form for the examination of candidates.

¹ We follow here Gieseler: *Die Unruhen in der niederländisch-reformirten Kirche während der Jahre 1833—39*. Hamburg, 1840. Compare the *Kirchenblatt der reformirten Schweiz* (1855, Nos. 13 and 14), and Gelzer's *Protestantische Monatsblätter* (1854, Oct. No.).

The spirit of moderation and toleration distinguished these regulations, and the principles were almost universally approved during the first seventeen years, 1816—1833. The old sharp divisions between the confessions seemed to disappear; Reformed ministers preached in the churches of Lutherans, Mennonites and Remonstrants, while some of the latter officiated in the churches of the Reformed, and a spirit of unity seemed to have become already so strong that there even arose a wish on all sides for an exterior unity of all Protestant sects into *one* ecclesiastical communion. A cautious preacher exclaimed to the hasty ones, "hasten slowly," and it soon became apparent that everybody was not contented with the new institutions. Possibly, the original moderation might lead to Rationalism, as in Germany, and thereby produce a reaction. It is enough to know, that orthodoxy had its warm defenders. Even in the year 1819 the recollection of the old doctrines of Dort, introduced two hundred years previously, was renewed in expressive language, and after 1823 a regular opposition took shape, which went so far that, in ten years, it had the spirit to wage a warfare of life and death against the new order of things.

At the head of this opposition there stood a fervent and vigorous man, the poet William Bilderdyk, who aimed, by the renewal of the old Calvinistic orthodoxy, to bring prosperity to that people which lay so near his heart. Political adherence to the House of Orange had much to do with his theological convictions, and he exhibited in other questions a certain radicalism. His condemnation of the Remonstrants and Socinians met with no favor from the majority of the theologians, but only from certain law-students, whose sympathy was purely political. But two Israelitish young men, who had been converted to Christianity through Bilderdyk, entered into the footsteps of their leader, who, with them, declared himself an admirer of the mystical, cabbalistic theology and philosophy, with which he designed to supplant the cold and negative Arminianism which, in the church of Holland, had taken the place of German Rationalism. It was impossible to prevent other young men being attracted by

the movement. But they did not adhere to harmless Mysticism. The same reproaches of decline from the pure doctrine of the church which had been charged by the young theological brood of Germany upon the veteran leaders of the church, were also heard here. A young clergyman, Henry de Cock, became champion of the party. By his arbitrary violation of the traditional ecclesiastical order, and by his immoderate zeal, he was suspended, and finally deposed in 1834. His treatment increased his reputation, and a large congregation gathered around him at Ulrum. In October of the same year they signed an act of separation, by which they disconnected themselves from the prevailing church, and appealed for justification to a large number of Scriptural passages. Their example was followed by only a few preachers, but by all the more laymen. From this arose further controversies. The separatists were treated as a sect, charged with obstinacy, and punished for unlawful meetings, until they finally obtained the privilege of organizing a separate church, with their own laws, as had been the case in the year 1818 with the congregation at Kornthal, in Würtemberg.

In Denmark we also perceive a conflict between Rationalism and Supernaturalism. A popular poet and historian, Pastor Grundtvig, opposed, with all the power of his eloquence, the so-called neology, which had been introduced into Denmark nineteen years previously, while the skeptical tendency found a fitting champion in Professor Clausen of Copenhagen.¹ The matter ripened into public charges and judicial proceedings, when Grundtvig finally received permission, in 1832, to hold public service.

At the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries, a powerful religious awakening arose in Sweden and Norway, similar to that which had arisen in England in the seventeenth century by the instrumentality of Fox, Nielsen Hauge (born 1771), the son of a peasant, had exhibited from early childhood a propensity for religious con-

¹ For further particulars (from the Grundtvig point of view) see the *Evang. Kztg.*, 1827: No. 51 ff.; 1828: No. 55 ff., 62 ff.; 1830: No. 5 ff.; 1831: No. 69 ff., 78 ff.; 1832: No. 49 ff.

temptation, which was slightly removed from gloomy fanaticism.¹ He had even been tempted to commit suicide, but was dissuaded by a better spirit. In his twenty-fourth year, while laboring in the field and singing hymns, he felt himself pervaded by a peculiar inner joy. He knew not what he was about. He ever after celebrated that hour as the time of his birth into eternal life. He now felt himself called to appear as an apostle. He preached powerfully, and received great popular support. A small circle of adherents gathered about him, but in the year 1797 the village pastor attempted to disband his meetings. Hauge was thrown into prison. Having been released, he made still greater efforts to promulgate his doctrines. He traveled far and wide, so that he extended his evangelistic journeys from the south of Norway to Finnmarken. In a single year he traveled over thirty-six hundred miles. Wherever he went, throngs gathered about him; many were awakened to new life by his instrumentality.

The extraordinary effects, in which there was often a morbid and suspicious element, called forth persecution from his opponents. The other sects calumniated him, and he was even charged with carnal misdemeanors. The result was, that Hauge, who had come to Denmark in 1801, was again imprisoned, in 1803, and criminal proceedings were instituted against him. He spent four years, down to 1807,² in a damp prison. His writings were prohibited, and the property he had acquired when a merchant in Bergen was confiscated. Weakened in health, he withdrew to a farm near Christiana, where he died in 1824. He can be charged with a one-sided enforcement of the law and a radical preaching of repentance, which absorbed the comforting character of faith. But while his adherents were hypocritical and melancholy, he, according to the testimony of his son, was cheerful, and susceptible of natural impressions. At all events, a germ of his doctrine

¹ Comp. the communication in the *Basler christl. Volksboten*, 1847, p. 331 ff., and *Studien und Kritiken*, 1849, in which much in the older edition is corrected.

² According to others, to the year 1815. See Hase, *Kirchengeschichte* (6th ed.), p. 524.

remained in Norway, which in the end even proved an advantage to the church.

We find another phenomenon, similar to Hauge's career, in the so-called Readers of Northern Sweden, a society of Christians who had spread through the land since the beginning of the nineteenth century, and had edified themselves and others by the social reading of the Bible and Lutheran sermons. But they yielded more and more to an unrestrained zeal for the letter of the Lutheran doctrine, and finally pronounced a curse on ministers and laymen who would not harmonize with them, while they considered themselves infallible, and maintained that their sentiments were the declarations of the Holy Spirit. Their principal doctrine was the pure Lutheran tenet of the justification of man by faith without the works of the law, though presented with an excess and literalness calculated to introduce many misunderstandings, and even a contrary sentiment.

We now come to England. The English church has represented, from the Reformation down to the present, the traditional antagonism between a hierarchy stiffened by forms and a Christianity which lays aside all forms, and is therefore frequently subjected to fanaticism. The theology of the Anglican church is a purely traditional and dead orthodoxy, which does not permit itself to be opposed by any philosophy, and is therefore unable to pass a proper opinion, from a correct or even partially correct standpoint, upon the philosophical and religious differences of opinion in Germany. It knows only the coarse skepticism of its Deists or a rigid adherence to the letter, whether it be its own creed or that of some alien sect. At best, it presents a pale picture of that exterior softening of antagonisms which Latitudinarians had attempted to introduce at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, and which also took place in Germany, though only as a transition. The positive Anglican mind, which well understands mercantile speculation, the science of steam and machinery, has not the faintest idea of an intellectual and hearty treatment of these antagonisms, of reconciliation in a higher sense, of that which

the German calls speculation and dialectics. This is proved, among other things, by the coarse attacks of English writers on German theology.¹

Far more life is found among the Dissenters than in the High Church. But even the former do not always exhibit a desirable theological penetration and thorough acquaintance with science; indeed, in real learning they are probably inferior to theologians of the Establishment. But in the practical department, Methodism, which took its rise in the Established church, but wrought against its dead formalism, has done great service for the elevation of religious life among the people, and, in connection with other sects, has applied itself to missions. This is the bright side of English Protestantism. Where the question is not a thorough scientific conviction, but the calling into existence of favorite convictions, the establishment of grand associations, the adoption of quick and energetic measures, the collection of money, and the development of abundant and permanent activity, on land and sea, the English knowledge of the world occupies its right place, and the German, with all his metaphysical sophistry, may learn that God's kingdom does not depend on the Kantian or Hegelian system, but on sound and saving forces.²

What we have already introduced upon the Continent in this respect, has been derived chiefly from England. Societies for the distribution of Christian knowledge were organized there before anything important had been effected in Germany. We are therefore led to express the wish anew, that Protestantism would gain a full knowledge of all the various powers committed to it, in order that they may be universally useful; that Englishmen would learn from the Germans profound

¹ Rose, *Zustand der protestantischen Religion in Deutschland*. Leipz. 1826.

² This practical sense has been exhibited particularly since 1846, in the establishment of the Evangelical Alliance. However, the doctrinal basis of the Association,—to which a thoroughly literal interpretation of the Scriptures belongs,—is hardly of such a character as German science, even the most orthodox, can appropriate.—On the present ecclesiastical condition of England, compare, besides other works, Gelzer's *Monatsblätter*, 1854 (April and May).

- scientific thoroughness, but that the Germans would learn from the English the practical use of ideas. So long as this mutual enlargement does not exist, the manifestations of Protestant life will be contracted and ineffective. Thus we see that Methodism, with all its practical capacity, has its obscure, morbid and repulsive elements. [Of the examples here adduced, only one was in the least connected with Methodism; i. e., the Jumpers, who arose in Whitefield's congregations in Wales, but were promptly repudiated by the Methodists]. And of these roughnesses and excrescences of religious fanaticism we must now speak.

We have already treated the foundation and first propagation of Methodism, and gave some examples of religious excitement, which gained ground and strength in the second half of the last century, and has not wholly lost it in the nineteenth. It reached its climax about the year 1760 by the so-called Jumpers, in Cornwallis, who, by a convulsive leaping and dancing, would have it understood that they were impelled by the Holy Spirit. They also made incoherent remarks, something like a violent groaning. Sometimes this became a sort of bellowing, in which case those who performed it were called Barkers. They justified their leaping by saying that David danced before the Ark of the Covenant. This sect transplanted itself to North America, where it still has its members.

Connected with these are the Shakers, who went out from among the Quakers. Ann Lee, the daughter of a Manchester blacksmith, believing that she was inspired by the Holy Spirit, pronounced lofty revelations, and proclaimed the speedy second coming of Christ. Miracles were attributed to her, and soon many people from the lower classes gathered about her. But having been interfered with by the authorities, she emigrated to New York in 1774. She also met with many difficulties in America, until she founded, in connection with her followers, the colony of New Lebanon. She died in 1784, but her sect still exists. Its chief doctrines are community of property, celibacy, and a general monastic abstinence. Its service is quite similar to that of the Quakers, and here, too, when the

Spirit moves upon the congregation, the people begin to shake, and to break out into a convulsive dance, when they pray and sing until they faint.

Joanna Southcott was a similar fanatic, who imagined that she was the bride of the Lamb described in Revelation (xii. 1), the wife of the sun, and the one who was to bear the Messiah. She began her prophecies in 1801, and was soon enabled to obtain a special chapel in London for her service. A magnificent cradle stood ready for the new Messiah. She died in the year 1814, after long and fruitless waiting. Her followers, the New Israelites, insisted on a rigid observance of Mosaic law. We would not follow the history of such errors further, and have only gone thus far in order to prove how an obscure piety, by an ignorant use of the Bible, can be led into the most dangerous abysses, and how such tendencies arise most easily where there is not a sound and discreet development of doctrines.

The difficulty of distinguishing the spiritual and profound from the fanatical, and the purely Christian from the gathering rust of human delusion, may be seen in the career of a Presbyterian minister of a recent date, who has even created quite a stir upon the Continent. Edward Irving,¹ the son of a wealthy tanner, was born on the 15th of August, 1792, at Annan, in the county of Dumfries, Scotland. He appeared as a preacher in the Caledonian Church in London in 1822, and soon enjoyed remarkable favor. The first statesmen of the day, among whom were Canning and Brougham, pressed their way into his church. Many members of the royal family, and it is said the crowned heads themselves, soon became his auditors. His expression, his majestic form (for, like Saul, he was a head taller than other people), his hair, which rolled back in heavy locks, his sharp, piercing glance, his melodious voice, his play of countenance, and his lively, expressive gesticulation—in fact, his whole method of preaching was attractive by its charm of novelty and originality. He was compared by some to Knox, and by others to Luther.

¹ Comp. Hohl's work: *Bruchstücke aus dem Leben und den Schriften Ed. Irvings*. St. Gall, 1889.

His prophetic fury, his fearless dealing with all antagonism, especially all temporal grandeur and haughtiness, his decided political liberalism, united with a rigid and Christian discipline and Old Testament legality, must certainly have called to mind the times of the earlier Puritans. "I daily pray to God," he declared in one of his sermons, "that he would awaken this day men of the old stamp, who will unite in themselves those two blessed qualities, religion and freedom, which have been so unnaturally separated."

With these principles Irving returned to the fundamental idea of Protestantism, of which we have so often spoken, but his liberalism was of a narrow political character, while his piety was extremely Puritanical or legal. He disclosed the misery of the popular classes of England with great eloquence. "It is sad," said he, "to see so many noble, immortal human souls born to labor and pain; to see how wearily and heavily laden they drag through so many crushing and hard years, uninstructed in the truth, deriving no nourishment from the fountain-head of knowledge, ignorant of the great question of salvation, and finally falling into the grave without ever having become acquainted with God. And yet our people are a noble race, who, by proper pruning, could produce excellent fruit; a luxuriant soil, from which we can gather either an abundant harvest of grain or a corrupt pile of weeds, according to the care we bestow upon it."

Such language, applied to practical matters in a practical way, awakened profound sympathy. The growing favor which Irving's preaching received, increased his boldness, which again enlarged the multitude of his hearers. Many stood for hours in narrow spots in order to hear those far-sounding orations, that often exceeded an hour in length. Yet he met with opposition, which became very strong when he began to touch upon controverted doctrinal points, the discussion of which would have been more appropriate in the age of Scholasticism than in the nineteenth century, and which proves to us the standpoint of English theology, in spite of all its practical excellence. In one of his works he declared that the body of Christ, like our own, had been sinful from birth, that it was

flesh like Adam's after his fall, and that it only became sinless after the resurrection. Omitting all the subtleties of the author, the pith of his doctrine is, that we can only receive Christ's true humanity in case it was subject to sin—a doctrine which, indeed, in many Biblical passages, as those which declare that Christ was tempted like us, has some force and great practical meaning, if Christ is to be an exemplar, whom we are pledged to follow in every respect. However, this opinion, notwithstanding the author's most guarded assurances and explanations, was so misinterpreted as to make Christ a sinner, to destroy or diminish his absolute holiness and sinlessness. Thus the dogmatist baffled the measures of the preacher, and divisions occurred among his former friends.

But in connection with this great man—whose treatment again leads us into the department of fanaticism—there was a still greater danger than his favorite doctrinal opinion. Irving held special meetings in his own house, where prayer was offered and the Bible read. It happened that some of those present were seized as though by a special inspiration, and compelled to speak in a peculiar and strange voice and intonation, or rather to burst forth in loud sounds, which, in connection with an extraordinary excitement of spirit, reminded one of the speaking in tongues in the ancient Corinthian church. The affair soon became known to the city and the world, for one day a person present at his public service in church broke out into this kind of inspiration, and afterward the same thing was repeated at different times and places. The matter was now discussed by friends and enemies. Some persons saw in these occurrences a divine authorization of Irving, while to others they were unwelcome. The judgment of the multitude, and even of the learned, wavered between attributing to them a supernatural and an unnatural character. Irving took the thing under his own protection, for he believed in the continuation of miracles, and connected that belief with his view of the true humanity of Christ; for since Christ was an example for us in all respects, he must also be such in working miracles. We should not follow in part, but altogether, and should not quench the Spirit of the Lord

where he manifests himself in miracles. Such assumptions, with his vouching for the whole affair, led to his ecclesiastical arraignment.

The elders of the Scotch Church in London were not lacking in friendly feeling toward him, and only after various fruitless remonstrances was he compelled to vacate his place, in the Spring of 1832. But this did not end the matter. Though his church was closed, Irving preached all the more zealously out of doors, especially on the great Islington Common. Meanwhile a special chapel for the service of the sect—for such his followers had now become—was erected in Newman Street, and Irving presided over the new church henceforth under the apocalyptic name of an angel. Its members were denominated prophets, evangelists, deacons, etc.; for the restoration of offices as we find them in the apostolic church was one of the peculiarities of Irvingism. In a short time the number of Irvingites increased so rapidly that in London alone seven congregations were organized, after the model of the first one. Meanwhile the Scotch National Church, to which Irving originally belonged, asserted that he was responsible to it, and he was therefore ordered to appear at Annan before the presbyters of his native city. This took place, and with great publicity. After his return to London he once more visited his native land, in the Autumn of 1834, for the purpose of ending his days there. A violent fever, which had already taxed his strength for some time, put an end to his life. He died at Glasgow on the 7th of December, when forty-two years of age. But his disciples propagated his doctrines and miracles even on the Continent, and the church of Geneva was for a long time disturbed by them.¹

¹ Irvingism has latterly made progress in Germany, and is striving to extend itself in Switzerland. It seeks its chief strength in the renewed apostleship, and in the restoration of the offices mentioned in the Epistle to the Ephesians (iv. 11). It is tolerant toward other ecclesiastical organizations, and sees a provisionally good element in them all, but holds that they have deviated from pure apostolical Christianity, whose literal restoration is the mission of the age. The Irvingism of the present day, however, does not rest alone on the personality of

Though, as we have seen, the greater portion of the spiritual life of England came from the dissenting bodies and from the Methodists, the Established Church has recently attracted attention because of its coöperation in the establishment of a Bishopric in Jerusalem, and by its Puseyism. It is well known that Frederick William IV. of Prussia, who immediately after his ascension to the throne (1840), and while great political changes were occurring in the East, turned his attention to the maternal home of Christianity, and hoped to establish a Protestant Bishopric in Jerusalem. It was anticipated that by this means Protestantism would be more firmly established, and an important center formed for missionary labors. While Prussia had formerly united with England in the attainment of great ecclesiastical ends,¹ it now seemed that England, by the position which Providence had given her, was adapted to the realization of this plan, and the influence which she had gained as a European power in the East and in Jerusalem encouraged the hope without, while it was inwardly strength-

Irving himself, but is rooted in the movements which have arisen in the Scotch Church since 1830, and have been attended by extraordinary phenomena, for instance, speaking with tongues. One result has been the prayer-meetings, first set in motion by Mr. Steward, but soon propagated throughout Great Britain. The original seat of the sect is Albury, the possession of Sir Henry Drummond, one of its apostles. In doctrine the Irvingites diverge from the orthodox teaching of the church on single points, particularly on the sinful humanity of Christ, and the Lord's Supper, which latter they regard as an offering, but not in the Roman Catholic sense. One of their peculiarities is the strongly articulated hierarchy and the literal application of the Old Testament types (the Ark of the Covenant, etc.) to Christianity. The tendency may be best designated as Anglo-Judaism. We refer the reader to the quarto Memorial (without title and date), by the Irvingites themselves, to the Patriarchs, Archbishops, etc.; to Böttcher's *Briefwechsel mit den Irvingianern* (Leipzig, 1858); and to Reich's treatise in the *Studien und Kritiken*, 1849: Nr. 1. Comp. Tholuck's *Litterarische Anzeiger*, 1848: Nr. 15 ff.; J. W. Schulze: *Der Irvingismus* (Berlin, 1856). [See also J. L. Jacobi: *Die Lehre der Irvingisten*, etc. 2nd Ed. Berlin, 1868.—J. F. H.] Mormonism, which has lately been spreading over Europe, can only be treated in connection with the most recent history.

¹ So with the work of union at the beginning of the 18th century.

ened by the fixed forms of her ecclesiastical character, and by the halo of her episcopal dignity.

Negotiations were therefore introduced to the effect that, with the greatest regard for the historical and national peculiarities of the two churches, a Bishopric should be formed at the Church of St. James' in Jerusalem, after the plan of the Established Church in England. The stationed bishop might be a German or an Englishman, but must receive his appropriate consecration at the hands of the Primate of the Anglican church, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and must subscribe to the Thirty Nine Articles of the Establishment. The English bishop should take under the protection of the Established Church other Protestant congregations, even those not belonging to it, if they desired it, and their ministers must in turn subscribe to the Thirty-Nine Articles. The selection of the bishop should alternate between England and Prussia. The first choice, which occurred at the close of the year 1841, was made by England, in the person of a native Prussian, Dr. Alexander. He was originally a Jew, born in the grand-duchy of Posen, but baptized and ordained in England, and afterward Professor of Hebrew Literature in the Royal College in London. In this individual the English, the Prussian, and the Oriental-Palestinian elements seemed to unite most happily. The consecration occurred on the 7th of November, 1841, and on the 21st of January, 1842, the bishop assumed control of his new diocese.¹

While people differed in opinion concerning the transaction, there was also a variety of results expected from it. While some perceived in it the progress of Protestantism, and saw an increase of universal historical relations, others boldly expressed their apprehension that this alliance of Prussia and England in ecclesiastical matters would be disadvantageous to the inner development of the German church, and that the

¹ See *Das evangelische Bisthum in Jerusalem, geschichtliche Darlegung mit Urkunden*. Berlin, 1842.—The place of Bishop Alexander, who died in 1846, has since been filled by Samuel Gobat of Crémère, Canton Berne, a student of the Basle Mission House. Comp. on him the *Kirchenblatt für die reformirten Schweiz*, 1846: Nr. 10. Feuilleton.

exterior formalism, which can never aid Protestantism, would be detrimental to the free development of German ecclesiastical life. The statement of the Primate of England, in his decree of installment, concerning the German church, that it was "one less wisely organized," was ill received; while it is patent that, from the Reformation to the present time, the spiritual nerve of Protestantism, which was cut in England from the very beginning by the temporal sword, has pulsed with most marked vitality in Germany.¹

But the mistrust of the English church was increased when, about the same time, Puseyism presented a new proof of the hierarchical, Catholicizing tendency of the Anglican church. We see in the ecclesiastical history of England how the rigid adherents of episcopal authority in the time of James I. and Charles I. returned again to Catholicism. Bishop William Laud restored all the remaining frame-work of faith which had been thrown down by the Reformation, except the temporal power in Rome, which he repudiated.² We now find a similar tendency in Puseyism. In the years 1820—23, certain works were introduced into the lectures at Oxford which contained the seeds of a tendency that constantly grew, and vigorously approached the principles of Catholicism, until 1830. The *British Magazine* and the *Tracts for the Times* were its organs. At the beginning of 1840 four professors in Oxford University became the champions of the new movement: Dr. Pusey (born in 1801 and descended from an old and illustrious family), J. Keble, J. H. Newman and J. Williams. Newman afterward formally entered the Romish church. Their efforts were designed to make the church stand forth as a power clothed in exterior, visible forms. Their ideal was the old Catholic episcopal church of the first six centuries, the church of Irenæus and Cyprian, from which the later Romish church

¹ See *Das anglo-preuss. Bisthum zu St. Jacob in Jerusalem und was daran hängt*. Freiburg, 1842. The news from the episcopate has since been gratifying. The newly erected evangelical church at Jerusalem was dedicated January 21st, 1849, when the bishop preached on Is. LVI. 7.

² See *Vorlesungen*, Part III., p. 242 ff. (2nd Ed.)

had fallen, but from which Protestantism has separated itself in arbitrary subjectivity.

Pusey records the pure Christian doctrine as represented by the Church Fathers of the first six centuries and by the six great councils of that period. What they established is the unchangeable law for the whole church, for its inner and outer development. At that time the Western and Eastern churches were one, but after their separation no general council was possible, and therefore there has been no true progression. Puseyism is distinguished from Protestantism in not merely recognizing Holy Scripture as the only authority, but in placing beside it the tradition of the church. Yet it does not give the wide range to this tradition which the Romish church does, but simply confines it to the first six centuries. The difference is therefore only of chronology, and not of principle. Also according to the Oxford teaching, Scripture truth can only be found within the *true Church*, which is its witness and authorized interpreter. Whoever is not connected with the church, and explains the Scriptures without regard to its authority, falls into Rationalism or fanaticism. England alone has preserved the pure elements of the church; she received the preaching of the gospel originally from the Oriental church,—when connected with the Western. She is in possession of the pure, apostolic ordination, which has been continued to her bishops. Ordination is therefore, according to the Puseyites, not a merely ecclesiastical custom or ceremony, but the highest sacrament, because it is the only means by which the two other sacraments—baptism and the Lord's Supper—become effective.

Puseyism lays an important stress upon all sacraments as divine agencies. From them arises the justification by which man's faith becomes active; but it is a specific faith in the specific operation of the sacraments. Puseyism constitutes in the main a striking antithesis to that subjective inner life which obtains in Quakerism and similar tendencies. It is stiff positivism. The exterior institution of the church is, according to it, the substance of salvation, and here it really harmonizes with Roman Catholicism, while it rejects every-

thing especially Romish in distinction from English. While we formerly observed a chronological difference, we here perceive a local one, but not one of principle. It is popery in both cases. Puseyism only sets up its Oxford popery before that of Rome. On this field the battle became easy for Rome. She could celebrate a quiet triumph, as she saw many Puseyites, and with them many others, entering her popish haven. But this result very naturally provoked great opposition to Puseyism in England. The Protestant principle began to revive vigorously, and, as in earlier times, Scotland began the reaction.

After many bloody battles, the Scotch National Church was politically recognized about the end of the seventeenth century (1690). In connection with that recognition was the abolition of the right of patronage, by which wealthy land-owners possessed the parishes in the country. About the beginning of the eighteenth century (1712) this right was again introduced, though under many protests. Crimination and re-crimination followed. The battle raged with more or less violence during the whole of the last century, when two parties took shape: the Conservatives, who were satisfied with the attainment of moderate ends, and the rigid Evangelists, who constantly struggled for their rights. Finally, on the 28th of May, 1834, a general convention of Scotch ministers and elders, three hundred and eighty-six in number, took place. They passed the Veto Act,—a declaration by which the congregation reserved the right to receive or reject candidates proposed by the patron.

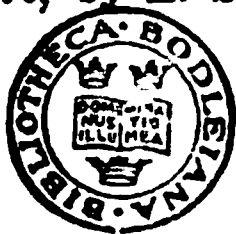
New conflicts arose both in and out of Parliament. Since the remonstrances obtained no official hearing, the Evangelical party went to extremes. At its head stood Dr. Chalmers, who died in 1847.¹ On the 18th of May, 1843, more than four hundred ministers declared their departure from the fold of the Scotch National Church, and organized themselves into

¹ On this excellent man, compare the Biography by his son-in-law Hanna: *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers* (Edinb., 1850. A selection from this has been published in the *Avenir*, 1850: No. 13 ff.), and Julius Köstlin's article *Chalmers* in Herzog's *Real-Encyc.*

the Free Church of Scotland. On the 17th of October a second convention took place, when it appeared that more than one third of the population had signified adherence to the Free Church. Sixty-six preachers were sent out to promulgate the principles of ecclesiastical independence from the state, and even in England voluntary contributions were collected for the benefit of the seceding church. Some of the messengers of the new church were sent to America, the native land of ecclesiastical independence. The National Church called these messengers "wandering knights, who make fools of people in order to get gold from their pockets." But this did not prevent the donation of millions of gold, and the Free Church found itself able to build chapels, found schools, and even to conduct in its own name a mission in the East Indies.

Turning now to France, we have not to treat of a Protestant state-church, but of a minority, which, after many bloody battles, has finally attained certain ecclesiastical recognition within prescribed limits.¹ As for the inner development of Protestantism in France, we shall speak only of Frenchmen in the strict sense. The Alsace, with its theological school at Strasburg, has been intimately related, especially of late, to Germany, and hence we spoke in a former lecture of Oberlin, whose picture must justly be considered a German original. But as for the Protestants who speak the French language, we nowhere find more than in France both sides of Protestantism standing at opposite poles: the negative side, which is identified with political liberalism, and generally expresses itself in religious indifference, and the positive side, which holds with decision, and we might say with rigid tenacity, to the declarations of the Reformers as based on Holy Scripture. Where free movement of thought and scientific inquiry are wanting, the latter class subside into a dead orthodoxy; or where that orthodoxy is only animated

¹ We refer the reader to Reuchlin: *Das Christenthum in Frankreich* (Hamburg, 1837), and especially to the later work of Dr. J. C. L. Gieseler: *Die protestantische Kirche Frankreich's von 1787 bis 1846*. 2vols. Leipzig, 1848. Comp. *Die religiösen Zustände Frankreich's*, by E. S., in Gelzer's *Monatsblätter*, 1854 (January to March).



by practical interests, it expresses itself in a harsh and injurious religious zeal similar to that of the Puritans.

The theology of the French Protestants, as it is now cultivated in Montauban, has, so far as we understand it, many points of resemblance to the theology of the English Church. It is at least equally far removed from German science, and feels itself rigidly bound by fixed declarations to religious truths as declared in the confessions. It often happens that this orthodoxy, especially when pervaded by practical religious life, assumes a Methodist tint, and a one-sided and hostile position toward everything which appears to it to be Rationalism, naturalism, or the like.¹ Yet the piety, self-sacrifice and firmness of the Protestants of the South of France, in their conflict with the usurpations of the Romish church, merit our high appreciation. Here the warriors stand upon a hallowed soil, consecrated by the blood of the fathers. They do something more than speculate, and write books—things which so often satisfy us Germans. A wide field here opens for practical sentiment. Lately, in this department the different Christian societies have developed their activity by the distribution of the Bible, by bearing it to the humblest vale and hut, by sending out preachers for the evangelization of the masses, by the establishment of schools, and by affording spiritual help of every kind.

The Evangelical Society enjoys by far the widest field of operation; it has a large number of auxiliary associations, and rivals English energy. In connection with it, and proceeding in part from more liberal principles, is the Protestant Society of Nismes (founded in 1838), which pays particular attention to dispersed Protestants. The above-mentioned distrust of pious Frenchmen toward everything which bears the shape of illuminism, is very natural, as the superficial liberalism of

¹ Even Neander cannot suit this orthodoxy. His Church History swarms with heresies, if we are to believe the *Archives du Christianisme*. Such assertions as that the first Christians did not have a Sunday, and the Epistle to the Hebrews was probably not written by Paul, could only arise from gross ignorance or heresy. Comp. Gieseler's *Die protestantische Kirche Frankreich's*, Vol. II. p. 273. Note.

many of the French people is too much inclined to pervert what is positively Christian into an intangible naturalism; while the deeply cultivated among them have begun to feel the necessity of showing a friendly side to German science. Except some celebrated exceptions, there are fewer theologians than statesmen and great writers of the nation who feel themselves more called to develop rather a purely theoretical and doctrinal than practical activity; but yet it is an activity which, God willing, shall not be without results.

Among these men Guizot stands preëminent. On different occasions he has defended Protestantism from a political standpoint, by protecting it against the charge of being revolutionary, which ignorant people have often brought against it. "Harmony in freedom" is Guizot's ideal, for which every effort should be made when the question is a justification of the confessions within the state. The hope of the philosophical politicians is limited to this: France will not become Protestant, but Protestantism will not go down in France. This, however, is but half a hope, which affords no satisfaction to zealous Protestants, and has therefore been despised by Protestant theologians. Not only the Methodist party, which considers the pope as Antichrist, has shaken its head at hearing it, but even the champion of the rationalistic tendency, Pastor Coquerel, has defended the claims of Protestantism against Guizot.¹ Much depends upon what we consider Protestantism. The time of Calvin, of Beza, and of Plessis Mornay will hardly return to France. A conference like the Gallican will not be likely to bind all Frenchmen; the evangelization of France in this sense belongs to the pictures of the millennium. But it remains with God to say how far the spirit of evangelical Christianity, apart from all temporal and obligatory forms—beyond which true Protestantism dwells—will be able to unite with modern culture, and to pervade even social life, which is now wildly abandoned to the rough forces of carnal idolatry and communism.²

¹ See Guizot and Coquerel: *Ueber den Protestantismus in Frankreich*. From the French, by C. Plötz. Leipzig, 1843.

² So in the year 1843. How stands the matter now? The synod held

The French Protestant church is intimately connected with Switzerland by means of the old maternal Church of Geneva. As we return, in conclusion, to the state of our own country, let us begin with this church and French Switzerland in general. In the first part of the present century we find in Switzerland, as in Germany, a conflict between the old confessional faith and Rationalism. But there was this difference: in Switzerland there was less concern about formal declarations on revelation and reason than was the case in Germany, but rather the interpretation of doctrines and their authority in life. The Church of Geneva, like that of England and France, was not disturbed by the Kantian questions and their possible results. Thus its Rationalism assumed the old forms of Arianism and Socinianism. The Genevan School had long since broken loose from rigid Calvinism, and Rousseau had charged its preachers with giving no answer to the question: Whether Christ is God? The freethinking or lax theology as

in Paris in September, 1848, has not led to a gratifying result. The strongly confessional party has not been able to bind all the members of the church again to the old Confession of Rochelle. Strictly orthodox men acknowledge the grand truth that "Christianity is more than a wreath of connected dogmas,—that it is the great fact of God's appearance among men, that it is, in one word, a *life*, which cannot be formularized." (Sardinoux, Professor of Theology in Montauban). Therefore the majority regarded it as an advantage that the different confessional tendencies could be united on the one ground of Christ crucified, which would hardly have been possible thirty years ago. The difficulties of the period were acknowledged, but the hope was not renounced that the work begun in love would increase to the perfect height of knowledge. In opposition to this "mediatory church," to which Grandpierre and Adolph Monod belonged, there arose, under Frederick Monod and Count Gasparin (who has been of great service to French Protestantism), a special church, which, standing aloof from all latitudinarianism, seeks the salvation of the Reformed church on the basis of the old ecclesiastical confessions. However, the history of French Protestantism is as far from being complete as that of Germany. The session of the Evangelical Alliance in Paris (1855) has contributed to a more favorable opinion of German theology on the part of those who can appreciate it; while many recent literary contributions—among which we number especially the excellent works of F. Bangener of Geneva—give ground for expecting a freer theological development in the future.

related to dogmas, had overpowered the prominent men of the church, and new ethics had driven the old dogmatics and polemics from the pulpit.

But the old faith had not altogether died out, and, after the great political events of the years 1813—1815, it began once more to assert its rights. It was in part owing to Madame Krudener, of whom we shall speak hereafter, that young theologians in Geneva and the Canton Vaud declared in favor of more orthodox preaching. In contrast with this zeal an event occurred which our Protestant understanding cannot justify: the Vénérable Compagnie des Pasteurs issued a formal prohibition in 1817 against preaching on those doctrines which had ever been in force as the fundamental doctrines of the Reformed church. The action may have been prompted by a peaceful spirit—not to suppress faith, but to avoid dispute. But the arbitrary prohibition caused great bitterness of feeling. A number of preachers refused to obey it, and actually separated from the church. Rigid Calvinism, which was once the state religion, was now considered only a sect. Its adherents—now no longer the clear, old Calvinists, but all who were more or less influenced by Methodist tendencies, and inclined to a somber view of life—were called by the people Momiers, and exposed themselves to the insults of the populace. Many vexatious occurrences took place in the Canton Vaud, and the great vital question of our age, What rights have the state in relation to the religion of sects and parties?, received various answers. It is remarkable how, in the present instance, political liberalism, though it did not always share the opinions of the Momiers, at least took their part at the outset, because it regarded religious violence and the suppression of the individual convictions as an abomination. Many of those who were persecuted by the state spoke in favor of the freedom of worship in the United States; though it is doubtful whether, under different circumstances, they would have accorded the same liberty to others. The political reorganization of Switzerland after 1830 was finally determined in favor of religious freedom. But it soon became apparent that many who desired a return of orthodox theol-

ogy and a more vigorous church discipline, by no means wished a formal separation from the church.

In 1831 there arose between neology and separatism a middle party, which shared with the latter more strongly doctrinal convictions, yet without disconnecting itself with the same abruptness from the state-church. This party came together as an Evangelical Society; it held its meetings in the Oratoire, and established a theological school for itself, whose aim was the support of strict orthodoxy and the awakening of a vital Christian sentiment. The national church had to prevent itself from becoming a pitiable ruin, by imbibing as many of the new elements of religious life as were compatible with its former tendency. Amid this unsettled yet moderate strife of parties, the Reformation festival occurred at Geneva, in 1835. Here, as in Germany in 1817, the Reformation was viewed from very different standpoints, and there were men who charged the Genevan church with apostasy, while more peaceful spirits thought that in it they could find a means for reconciliation and unity. This result, however, is in the distant future. The conditions of its success lie in an impartial examination of the real wants of the church. A friendly feeling for German theology, in which the union of science and faith has not been fully obtained, but for which more salutary efforts have been made than elsewhere, can be of special advantage.¹

¹ Meanwhile ecclesiastical life in French Switzerland has passed through an important phase of development, in connection with Methodism on one side and political revolution on the other. While previously the more positive tendency, which was called Methodism, found a support in liberalism, which took free worship under its protection, against the demonstrations of the civil authorities, the relation was now changed after this civil authority passed into radical hands. The Methodists, who were members of the state church, and to whom many of its ministers were attached, were regarded by many persons as instruments of reaction, and were forbidden to hold private services in the Oratoires. Consequently a demand was made of the clergy, in August, 1845, to read from the pulpit a political proclamation recommending the new Constitution to the people, though an earlier law only permitted proclamations relating to religion to be read in the churches. The refusal

As we turn to German Protestant Switzerland, we observe in the closing years of the eighteenth century a far different picture of ecclesiastical relations and prevailing theological sentiments. We must confess that, of all the cities of German Switzerland, Zürich occupied the first intellectual rank. What power was wielded by Lavater! What a tie was he between the intellectual forces of Germany and those of Switzerland! Every Christian German scholar and artist who traveled through Switzerland visited Lavater, and whoever went from Zürich to a German university—which took place from Zürich more than any other Swiss city—took letters of introduction from him. Lavater's Christianity was fervent, individual, and ingrown with him and his thinking, so that a cold observer might fancy him fanatical and arbitrary, and therefore not adapted to make a definite impression on the Zürich church. Yet, on the other hand, the worthy prelate Hess defended the strictly Biblical and ecclesiastical orthodoxy, lighted up by the beams of the new illuminism, but in no

of forty-three ministers led to their suspension. On the 11th and 12th of November, 1845, there occurred at a clerical meeting in Lausanne a decisive step toward a popular dismissal, which, indeed, was only a withdrawal from the official services of the national church, and not an absolute separation from it. However, ideas contemplating the total separation of church and state, which had originated chiefly in the excellent writings of Vinet, had been spreading for some time among the people. Many persons were more easily inclined to take this step through a firm reliance upon the power of these ideas, which had been practically realized about the same time in Scotland. The Free Church of the Canton Vaud was the real result. Yet this church has heretofore taken deeper root in the higher classes and among the clergy than in the masses of the people. Its gross excesses against separatists and their religious assemblies, encouraged to some extent by the government, indicate a deep decline of religious and moral life in general. Together with Methodism, other religious tendencies, proceeding from England, as Darbyism, or the Plymouth Brethren (kindred to Irvingism), have taken root in French Switzerland. Comp. Herzog: *Les Frères de Plymouth* (Lausanne, 1845). On the movements in the Canton Vaud, see Baup: *Précis des Faits* etc. (Lausanne, 1846), A. Schweizer: *Die kirchlichen Zerwürfnisse im Kanton Waadt* (Zürich, 1848), and Mestral: *Mission de l'église libre*, 1848; Germ. Ed. Berne, 1849.

way destroyed by them.¹ Hess was to Zürich and to Switzerland what Reinhard was to the Saxon church and Storr to that of Würtemberg. Still, Hess did not belong to it alone. His clear and mild, yet fixed and safe convictions, as expressed in his writings on Biblical history, and especially on the life of our Lord, found a hearty reception in many a pious domestic circle in Germany and in the soul of many a young theologian.

Simultaneously with him, John George Müller of Schaffhausen, the disciple of Herder, labored for the maintainance of positive Christianity, in opposition to the destructive and superficial tendencies of the times. Müller was more orthodox and conservative than his great teacher; he could be at times sharp and scathing, but yet he never took ground himself against the claims of culture, and avowed as freely his antipathy to morbid bigotry as to intolerable liberalism.² Together with his conservative, mildly orthodox, and yet decidedly positive tendency, which was represented even in Berne by the worthy Müslin, German Rationalism had in the meanwhile entered Switzerland, and particularly in Zürich, which was most susceptible of various spiritual impressions. Two young men, Stölz and Häfeli, at first enthusiastic disciples of Lavater, were inclined to the prevailing tendency of illuminism, which they meanwhile advanced, not in Switzerland, but in North Germany, and especially in Bremen, where they were preachers.³

But very soon the Theological School of Zürich, and by its influence the church, admitted Rationalism into its fold. This tendency found its chief defender in the person of the learned and pious Canon Schulthess,⁴ who, like his friend

¹ Comp. the article *Hess* in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopædie*.

² His *Theophron*, his *Glaube der Christen*, the *Unterhaltungen mit Serena*, and his excellent historical works, are still deserving of respect.

³ Stolz is distinguished by his (modernized) translation of the New Testament, and his explanations thereto. Lavater's Letters, in Hegner, shed an interesting light on the development of the two men.

⁴ For an appreciative portrait of the man, see Gelzer: *Die Strauss'schen Zerwürfnisse*, etc. Hamburg, 1843. pp. 15, 16.

Paulus, believed he must remain true to his convictions by rejecting every influence which he feared would obscure his freedom of thought? He vigorously opposed not only all Romish tendencies, but especially the efforts of tract societies and similar institutions, which were described as Pietistical. He came into contact with prominent German theologians, and took ground with all his power against all dialectical and speculative accommodations, until the old forms on which the remaining part of his character rested, went to pieces beneath him.

The church of Basle remained true to the old doctrine as expressed in its confession, down to the most recent time, yet it has been without such scientific activity as has prevailed in Zürich. The University had lost its early importance since the middle of the seventeenth century. We must frankly confess it here—we do not speak of individuals, but of the general impression made by the University—that it was really half dead and half alive. Theological science had become traditional for half a century, and though it could boast of having remained free from all neological influence, this was very equivocal praise, in view of the scientific inactivity into which it constantly sank; for its religious life was on a par with its scientific vitality. From another side, however, Basle presented a point of connection and adherence. The practical Christian life which seeks its own paths independently of the state and the school, found them also here, chiefly in the form which men had been accustomed to call Pietistical.

We have already shown how the Moravian Brethren had succeeded in founding a society in Basle; how the German Christian Society,—originated by Urlsperger,—here found its special soil, and how Basle became a center, amid various destructive forces, to which many who had striven for inward fellowship of faith might cast their eyes.¹ It also came to pass that, together with the newly awakened interest in the great undertakings of the common Christian spirit, Basle was first of all cities on the Continent to originate a Mission

¹ Comp. Vol. I. p. 394 ff.

School.¹ This occurred in 1816, while its Bible Society had been founded some years before. Both these institutions, branches from which sprang out on different sides, were greeted by some with love and enthusiasm, but by others were despised as a mere partisan affair.

But learning, like practice, could not long remain in obscurity. The restoration of the University in 1817—1820, and the call of De Wette, must be regarded as important events by all who have an insight into the intellectual development of our community. From those events theological study first regained life and connection; and in consequence of them an alliance was effected with German science. While the practically pious and scientific interests, as simultaneously exhibited from different points, did not harmonize in the beginning, there must and should be two elements—science and practical piety—which should ever remain the vital forces of Protestantism, become accustomed to each other, learn mutual respect, and supplement each other, so as finally to become a living organism. What has not yet universally come to pass, has not only become a fact in Switzerland but elsewhere, in isolated cases; and the further accomodation of extremes must proceed from that true theological sentiment on which, as a basis, all the real pillars of the church must rest.

Lately Zürich and Berne have established themselves on the footing of the German universities, and have filled their positions of instruction in part by German theologians of acknowledged reputation. On the other hand, the German universities are more attended by Swiss young men than formerly, and though different tendencies have arisen at home and abroad, we must not forget the incalculable influence of Schleiermacher on Switzerland. If we except Würtemberg, he has probably influenced our country more than any other. The school of Bonn,² which probably numbers

¹ For further particulars we refer to the work of Inspector W. Hoffmann: *Die evangelische Missionsgesellschaft zu Basel*. Basle, 1842.

² That is, the school of Nitzsch, with which the further schools of Julius Müller, Dorner, and others, with minor fractions, have since united.

most adherents among the young clergy, has its deep scientific root in the theology of Schleiermacher. Yet the life of the church does not depend upon the school alone, nor upon the views and opinions of learned men, though they be of the first magnitude; and this is the fact in Switzerland not less than in Germany. Consequently, after having spoken of the farthest limits and points where Christian life appears more theoretical, we must descend into the quiet vale of the common life of the Swiss who speak the German language, and see what is the character of their Protestantism.

Until the time of the French Revolution the Swiss were an *ecclesiastical* people, and though there were isolated bad habits and infractions of duty, there yet prevailed far and wide in the household the pious ancestral customs of respect for the Bible and love for public service. Many peculiarities of these customs vanished in the Revolution by the outwardly enforced unity, and with cosmopolitanism mere formalism took its place in the mountainous sections, to which it was illy adapted. Illuminism gained the upper hand among the masses; ecclesiasticism declined in the cities; and ecclesiastical discipline, which had already sunken to a mere form, went to ruin. But for Switzerland as well as for Germany, the years of warfare and the famines resulting therefrom in 1816 and 1817, were a period of religious awakening. About this time the popular mind was appealed to from two different quarters. On the one side a writer who, though not a Swiss by birth, and still less a professional theologian, made the attempt, through the agency of a periodical sheet, to lead back the attention of the cultivated classes to religious life; and this he would accomplish, not so much by a thorough discussion of all the unsettled religious questions, as by an easy and dexterous removal of everything which produced confessional and doctrinal extremes, by the silent commingling of diverse elements, and by the enforcement of a universal religious element, especially of morals, so far as this result can be produced by æsthetic union, and made acceptable to the educated.

Thus there proceeded from Aarau the *Hours of Devotion*, which

- very soon gained not only many admirers at home, but going from beyond Switzerland into the most distant North, awakened an interest which was long increased by the charm of the anonymous character of the work.¹

We shall best describe the book if we term its spirit that of a sentimental Rationalism, thus placing it—excepting its greater variety of matter—with Tiedge's *Urania*, Witschel's *Morning and Evening Offerings*, and similar books, of which we have already spoken. It addressed itself chiefly to contemporaries, as was shown by its many editions and rapid sale. We should certainly be unjust to deny that it awakened in many a young man and young woman a sentiment for introspection and the contemplation of nature, and in many cultivated families it was a source of edification and blessing, while it restored to honor the word "devotion," which had been almost universally heard with distrust. This can be denied only by gross passion, or so far perverted as to be termed the "work of Satan." But we are not unjust to this book to say, that it deals too much with generalities, and dwells so much on the surface as not to be able to lead the reader energetically into the depth of the Scriptures and of his own soul. In the popular heart it has not supplanted Arndt, Sriver and Schmolck, and any cultivated person who has feasted upon such a book as the *Discourses on Religion*, will no more be satisfied with such food as the *Hours of Devotion*.

Humanity will often be powerfully thrilled. The same individuals who have long been indifferent will use the most extreme and vigorous measures when the favorable hour comes, and the same language of contrition is heard in the salons of the cultivated which is found in a rougher type among the lower classes. We have in mind the appearance of Madame Krudener in Switzerland, and the results of her labors. It is much easier to pass a sound judgment on her now than it was a quarter of a century ago. It is a remarkable phenomenon that a woman, "trained in the dwellings of

¹ The secret is now revealed. See Zschokke: *Eine Selbstschau*. Aarau, 1842. Vol. I.

vanity" and "humbled by her sins and errors" (as she herself confesses¹), had such a spirit of self-denial as to minister "on a wooden bench" to the poor and suffering, to seek out criminals in prison, and to present to them the consolations of the cross, to open the eyes of the wise men of this world to the deepest mysteries of divine love, and to say to the kings of the world that everything avails nothing without the King of Kings, who, as the Crucified, was a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Greeks. She was derided, defamed, persecuted, driven from one country to another, and yet never grew weary of preaching repentance "in the deserts of civilization," and of proclaiming the salvation of believers and the misery of unbelievers.

Juliana, Baroness of Vietinghoff, was born at Riga in 1766. In her ninth year she made astonishing progress in learning, and won the hearts of others by her child-like amiability. At this tender age she went with her parents to Paris, where her father's house was a gathering-place of the celebrated men of France, and where this vain young creature soon found occasion to play the wit at the expense of her delicate womanly feeling. She deeply experienced the disadvantages of this way of living. Though still a child, her conscience was awakened amid the surrounding vanities. One evening at Strasburg, when weary and distracted by dancing, she fell asleep without praying. But she could not rest. So early as her fourteenth year she was married to Baron Krudener, whom she accompanied to Italy, and with whom she spent several years in Venice. Her marriage was unfortunate. After separating from her husband she lived, after 1791, some time in the house of her parents at Riga. Then she went to Paris, whither, after a short stay in Leipzig, Germany, and in Russia, she returned once more in the year 1801.

While in Paris she visited the most brilliant circles, and lived wholly in the world, and in a worldly French manner. She wrote at that time her romance *Valérie*, which describes an immoral relation, concealed beneath the fragrant veil of romance and redundant with a religious, Romish, and fanatical

¹ See *Zeitgenossen*. Leipzig, 1838. Vol. III.

sentiment, and in which St. Martin, the French Mystic, is said to have taken part. Afterward the authoress lived alternately in the North and in the South,¹ and spent some time on the Rhine. In Carlsruhe she became acquainted with Jung-Stilling, and in the Autumn of 1814 appeared again in Paris. The religious meetings held there in her house created attention; in the following year, however, she withdrew to Switzerland, where she designed to establish a mission of her own. It is not necessary to speak of her stay in Basle and its vicinity, and afterward in Aargau, Lottstetten (near Schaffhausen), and other places. On this point we have been lately supplied with much interesting matter in a Biography of her by a Schaffhausen clergyman.²

As for the subsequent history of this remarkable woman and her companions, we shall only recall the following: Wherever she stepped her foot, great multitudes of people physically and spiritually hungry, of sufferers of every class, and persons without regard to confession, surrounded her and received from her food—yea, wonderful food. The woes which she pronounced on the body and soul of the impenitent awakened in many an oppressed and troubled spirit a feeling of joy at misfortune, while many a genial word of love fell into good ground. Rumor was busy on the one hand in clothing her with the glory of a chosen saint, a prophetess, and worker of miracles, and on the other in declaring her a fool and a hypocrite. Passion oscillated in the public judgment between favor and hostility to her; and yet amid all gainsaying the civil authorities, in their great perplexity, knew not what to do except drive her from country to country, until she reached her home in the North. But she had no rest even there. Finally, declaring herself in favor of Greek independence, she was driven from St. Petersburg. She then proceeded to Livonia, and finally to the Crimea, where she died on the 13th of December, 1824, of a painful illness.

¹ Empeytas, of Geneva, afterward a leader of the Momiers, was one of her adherents.

² See *Erinnerungen an J. C. Maurer, Bilder aus dem Leben eines Predigers*. Schaffhausen, 1843.

If we inquire after the traces which she left in Switzerland, we shall find that excitement and fanaticism are attributed to her and her influence. It is hard to decide whether the opinion is just or not. It is very certain that recent Swiss separatism has old historical roots, and perhaps can be traced back to the time of the Reformation. But if new sprouts sprang from these old roots, and if even new roots did here and there branch out, was it not perfectly natural that a fruitful rain which was poured upon the land in a time of drought should cause the weeds to grow with the good grain? Madame Krudener must not be made responsible for the weeds alone. Though her sowing among the great popular masses may have been followed by some unsafe results, her example was of great influence in awakening the desire for a deeper and more serious life of the soul in the highest circles of society; for the establishment of the Holy Band was in part her work. Her labors had certainly an obscure element, and this obscurity reveals itself more particularly in her incorrect view of the nature of Protestantism, which she rejected in name, and to which she made the untimely admixture of Catholic elements. She hoped by this means to advance the period when there should be *one* flock and *one* Shepherd; but it is also very apparent here that whoever attempts to unite in the wrong place, and prematurely, makes the rent all the larger, and, instead of gathering together, only scatters abroad. The divisions among the Reformed henceforth gained the upper hand—which, indeed, was no great misfortune, since they brought on a crisis.

The crucifixion of Margaret Peter and her brothers and sisters, whose fanaticism had a Krudenerian character, occurred in the year 1823 in the Zürich village of Wildenspuch, and created a serious admonitory impression against the unrestricted force of gloomy religious enthusiasm.¹ Also the Anabaptist element, and particularly its old Gichtelian leaven, began to revive here and there in Switzerland. A certain Anton Unternährer of Entlibuch had announced himself as the Messiah in 1801, before Madame Krudener had

¹ See Meyer: *Schwärmerische Greuelszenen in Wildenspuch*. Zürich, 1824.

entered Switzerland, and, after various adventures, terminated his life in prison in 1824. From him came the Antonian sect, which found adherents in the Canton Berne and elsewhere, and was somewhat affiliated with the early sect of Brugglers. From its fold sprang Christian Michel and his followers.¹ In Eastern Switzerland the Neo-Baptists, who had gained some prestige in Germany, and especially in Würtemberg, came into conflict with the civil authorities.²

But no occurrence has lately taken so deep a hold upon the religious life of the people of Protestant Switzerland, and produced such a perturbation of mind, as the proposed call of Dr. Strauss to Zürich in the year 1839, which was the result of the political disruption of 1830.³ This movement was more or less affected by political sympathies and partialities. It is remarkable that, in the very canton where Rationalism had found more favor for half a century than in any other part of Reformed Switzerland, the antagonism to the Straussian tendency was so powerful, and, using the word in a good sense, so passionate. But we must not forget that the Rationalism of the older school saw itself in danger, by this pantheistic tendency, of losing the very thing to which it had adhered: the personality of God and personal immortality. Moreover, the people, especially the rural population, had accepted very little of the older Rationalism of the clergy. Orthodoxy, though somewhat formal, still lived in the popular heart, and the Supernaturalism of Berlin and Bonn gained new prestige by the labors of the younger clerical generation.⁴

¹ See further particulars in Zyro's *Chr. Michel und seine Anhänger*, and Trechsel's *Bei'räge zur Gesch. der schweiz. ref. Kirche des Kanton Bern*. Part I.

² Small congregations have been baptized in Germany by the English missionary and Baptist preacher Oncken. See Grüneisen, in Illgen's *Zeitschrift*, 1841. Part I.

³ Comp. Gelzer: *Die Straussischen Zerwürfnisse in Zürich von 1839*. Hamburg, 1843.

⁴ This modern orthodoxy is, however, opposed (though latterly in a modified form) by the speculative-critical tendency, which is connected with the Tübingen School, and whose organ was for some time the *Kirche der Gegenwart*. Zeller's call to Berne was only of passing importance. An accommodating tendency has been advocated by the *Kirchen-*

At the present moment we find an element which we have had occasion to notice from the outset, and to which we have frequently recurred: that wherever Protestantism has purposely assumed a negative character, there has arisen in antagonism to it a fixed, positive, and decided confession. And thus we see here, too, the positive power of Protestantism, as taking a deep root in Christian people, and constituting a powerful counterpoise to the one-sidedness of a criticism at once destructive and disconnected from all vital interests. But a victory gained in this way is no apology for limiting the free development of learning. A praiseworthy explanation of sentiment is no solution of a scientific problem. The progress of the freest inquiry should not be impeded, but only directed in its course.

Science and the church have their special paths—at least for a time—though they must not always be separate, and ignore each other, but be of mutual aid in the free development of life, until both arrive at maturity. The people must not be blamed if they cast the unripe fruit of science into the same heap with the poisonous fruit, for both may produce death. The wise gardener therefore lets the unripe fruit hang until perfected by the strengthening and mild sunshine which God gives it, or until it proves itself to be a bitter, sapless, and weak product, on which he has lavished his care in vain. Only let him not rob the community, which is longing for refreshment, of the valuable provision which it possesses, and which it knows by experience contains a blessing, though occasionally a person may be found to ascribe those benefits to the husk which he cannot separate from the kernel. A spoiled taste has often prematurely cast away what the adept restored to honor, because he knew how to cultivate in it the true principle of nourishment. If we pass through the history of theological science, especially that of the last fifty years, we shall easily find examples in point. In short, we have not arrived at the end of our science, and the disorder threatens

blatt für die reformirte Schweiz, which has appeared since 1845 [Just discontinued.—J. F. H.].—Finsler's *Kirchliche Statistik der ref. Schweiz* (Zürich, 1854, '56. Vol. II.) gives a satisfactory survey of the state of the Swiss church.

to be all the greater in consequence of unmixed skepticism. But we must not grow weary of arranging and of supervising, for careful labor will surely be followed by success.

As for the Swiss church, we will not renounce the hope that, when once the storms which agitate the Catholic and Protestant districts shall have subsided, the time will come when the true company of vigorous and clear sighted (*lichtvoll*¹) believers will rejoice over their possession of the universal vital principle, and be delivered from the admixture of base elements. We do not desire a mere return to the good old times. My narrative would be in vain if any one of us should indulge this languid hope, for, I believe, the view we have gained from the foregoing lectures in relation to the newest historical development, is this: Modern culture, as exhibited in the different departments of life, in philosophy, literature and education, can be no more suppressed than the full-blown flowers of Spring can be put back into the buds from which they sprang, or the sun return to the dark chambers of night, or the stream to the obscure fountain in the wilderness.

Let him who dreams of such reactions and restorations forget, if he can, Lessing, Herder, Kant, Schiller, Goethe, Pestalozzi, Fichte, Schleiermacher, and all the other heroes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and push himself back into the times of the old polemic theology. Who but a dreamer would restore the golden age of Luther, just as it was? The nineteenth century can never become the seventeenth or the sixteenth; nor can it leap over or quench the eighteenth, either by pious decrees or respectable disregard. But it is certain that, as the eighteenth century was the transition to the nineteenth, so do we now stand in the middle of a stream whose current rushes on toward a distant shore. There are many who charge others with being

¹ We do not mean by this the later association of Friends of Light. We cannot at present describe in full this negative tendency, which, with its unhistorical character, can lay but little claim to belong to history. We refer to Schenkel's *Religiöse Zeitskämpfe*, 1847, a book which, as far as the latest phenomena are concerned, we must regard as supplementary to our own.

stagnant, while they themselves would like to stand still with only just what *they* have learned, with what has been lauded to them as illuminism. But the illuminism itself has become antiquated, and those who were considered men of progress fifty years ago now complain, and often unjustly, that those who have gone beyond them have only returned to the olden times, simply because such appears to *them* to be the fact. Not everything which seems to be retrogression is really such; neither is that always progress which makes the boast.

The vibrations of history are not like the oscillations of a pendulum, which is always forced from its equilibrium yet ever strives to regain it. Whenever a period of torpid faith arrives, and the light of science is placed under a bushel, the demand of the thinking mind is made in a manner calculated to injure faith; whenever knowledge is puffed up in vain theorizing, and unbelief ascends the throne, the power of faith again arises, assigns limits to pride, hurls even the masters of knowledge from their usurped seats, and then, at the proper time, can prescribe for fortune its appropriate limits. It is permitted to only a few to preserve this equilibrium amid such vibrations, and to restore it to their contemporaries. Only a few have the art, as Schleiermacher once said of himself, to place the foot on the side of the boat which needs a counterpoise; most people seek the center of gravity *with* the majority and *in* the majority, and thus press on the side until the ship is overturned. But God be praised that there is some One else at the helm besides ourselves, and that He controls the winds and waves, and knows when to apply His own power to still the storm, though just then many are in dismay, and cry: "All is lost!"

We live in a wonderful age, when unbelief and superstition are striving for the mastery, and when certain people think that they advance science by cutting off the roots and tendrils of faith, while others imagine that they render faith a service by clipping the wings of knowledge and research, or by closing the eyes when the light is brilliant. The light of the former class is like the aurora borealis, shooting above a land stiffened in ice but yet giving no warmth, while the heat of the

latter class is like a consuming fire, whose smoke and vapor darken the land. Oh, that light and warmth would again unite in the right place and in the proper way, and that, like an electro-magnetic force, they would pervade our ecclesiastical community, and dwell in it as a vital principle, so that, the light being here and the heat there, the church might become productive by their united agency! I do not know a charm that can unite the two, and such a one will not soon be found. He who waits for it, will wait in vain; and he who thinks to aid its arrival by a doctrinal statement or a philosophical abracadabra, does not know what he is about. Truth depends not on forms. It is not an affair to be comprehended in an exterior sense, and which, having been once issued, can be forever taken about in the pocket as a letter or a seal. Its character must be constantly renewed; its seal must be always imprinted afresh; it must ever be born anew of the Spirit.

True, there are eternal truths, which are laid down for us in the Holy Scriptures; and thus far these truths are pledges and seals for us once for all. But if we look at the Scriptures impartially, they do not impress us as being juridical documents or statutes of faith; but as they arose from vital relations, so, when the times and relations of men change, must they be applied to these changed times and relations, and therefore ever be read anew with spiritual eyes, as with Luther, with the most pious and spiritual men of a later period, with Arndt and many Mystics, with Claudius, Herder, Lavater, Hamann, Steffens and others. The Spirit moves as a mediator between the time of the sacred writers and our own, and he who does not live in connection with the spiritual current in which his times have cast him, will not and can not understand what aid the Scriptures can afford him. Raupach, in his *Erdennacht*, thus speaks beautifully on this point:

"As stars by night must show the mariner
The course his voyage takes, and his own art
Must teach him how to shun abyss and rock;
So doth God's Word reveal the heavenward road,
Yet never builds a bridge, or hews a path,
If stream or rock obstruct the wanderer's steps."

We would not, however, recline upon a positive communication, though it be the definite statements of the Scriptures themselves, as upon a soft cushion, and declare that the prosperity of the church is dependent upon binding definitions. By saying so, we convert them into such a cushion. We must think and labor, and desire to *exercise* the soul; but at the basis of this disposition and striving there must lie *an implicit confidence in the power of truth* and a candid and sincere love of it,—which can only be acquired and preserved from the admixture of vanity and selfishness by ever descending afresh into the lowest depths of our consciousness, by daily penitence, and by constantly yielding with patience and submission to that trial and purification by which God's Spirit designs to train every one subjected to its discipline. Thus Luther arose through sorrow and distress to the light of truth, in spite of the disputes of sophists. Protestantism must also be elevated to this stage of freedom, which is highest because inwardly established; and until it reaches that position its history will not be complete. But it must pass through conflicts on the way. Truth is not purchased by a small outlay; it cannot be simply excogitated, excavated, inquired after or ingeniously devised; still less can it be imperiously obtruded. It must be *morally* acquired, produced in living faith, and be found in God by prayer and labor. And every one must find it for himself, if it is to be *truth* to him in the evangelical Protestant sense,—inalienable truth, the soul's great possession. This is shown not merely by my later lectures, but by the whole history of Protestantism, which I have now been tracing nearly ten years.

Whoever will take the pains to investigate additionally the previous course of history, will be assured, that only those have taken a really advanced step in the promotion of truth who have made truth a serious matter, and who have experienced its power,—whatever they be denominated in the annals of church history, whether orthodox, Mystics, Pietists, innovators, idealists, pantheists, Lutherans, Reformed, or Catholics. The human and superficial, designed to elevate the merely selfish personality, has ever been blown away as

mere chaff; but many a beautiful grain of wheat has been collected in the granaries, where thousands have fed in time of hunger. But we have never suffered total starvation; the granaries have again thrown open their doors, and presented a view of the spiritual supplies of one century as well as of another. The provision has not diminished; it could only increase.

What shall be the future of our Protestant Church? This is a question which we not only have no time to answer, but are not capable of answering. But this much we know, I repeat: that we can not force matters by outward forms. The Spirit must do the work, yet not *that* spirit which is usually called the spirit of the times, and which is only one of thousands of subordinate spirits which have borne this enchanting name. But we mean the Spirit which leads at all times into all truth—the Spirit of peace amid universal change. We do not know when the time will come which we regard as the period of true Protestant freedom. The signs may deceive us. They sometimes indicate one thing, and sometimes another. But we do know that this time *must* come. It may be far off in the distance, or perhaps it is much nearer than we have ever dared to hope or think.

LECTURE XX

BRIEF SURVEY OF THE HISTORY OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, WITH SPECIAL REGARD TO THE PROTESTANTISM ARISING WITHIN IT SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.—PASQUIER QUESNEL, AND THE CONTROVERSY ON THE CONSTITUTION.—THE APPELLANTS AND CONVULSIONISTS.—THE JESUITS IN PARAGUAY.—ABROGATION OF THE ORDER.—GANGANELLI.—LIBERAL TENDENCIES IN GERMANY.—JUSTIN FEBRONIUS.—THE ASSOCIATIONS OF THE ILLUMINATED AND MYSTICS.—GASSNER.—JOSEPH II. AND HIS REFORMS.—THE STIPULATION AT EMS.—SCIPIO RICCI.—THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.—THE THEOPHILANTHROPISTS.—BONAPARTE AND THE CONCORDAT.—ST. MARTIN AND CHATEAUBRIAND.—NAPOLEON'S CONDUCT TOWARD PIUS VII.—NEW CONCORDAT.—THE RESTORATION.—THE RESTORATION OF THE JESUITS.—THE JULY DAYS.—LAMENNAIS.—GERMAN CATHOLICISM AND ITS VARIOUS REPRESENTATIVES: SAILER, WESSENBERG (AND THE CATHOLIC RELATIONS OF SWITZERLAND), HERMES, MÖHLER AND GÖRRES.—THE CONTROVERSY ON THE ARCH-EPISCOPACY OF COLOGNE.—MOST RECENT RELATION OF CATHOLICISM TO PROTESTANTISM.—PROSPECT.—CONCLUSION.

In order to complete our picture of the history of the development of Protestantism in the past and present centuries, we must finally cast a comparative glance at the Catholic church, in order to see how the reformatory tendencies gained power within it, and how, together with evangelical Protestantism, which we must keep prominently in mind,

Catholic Protestantism has also acquired strength. We might have observed that, since the Reformation, the Catholic church has also endeavored to correct abuses that have crept in, to assign limits to papal authority, to reform monasticism, to promote popular instruction by improved schools, to adapt preaching and public service to the changed necessities, and, by introducing stricter morals, to recover that respect for ecclesiastical institutions which had been lost chiefly by the neglect of former times. In connection with this tendency there was another, which made every effort to thwart the progress of Protestantism, to stifle the rise of more liberal ideas and reformatory principles within the Catholic church, to establish the foundations of the priesthood by new supports, and to widen the circle of adherents as much as possible. We have had occasion in former lectures to show how the latter object was accomplished by the Order of the Jesuits. But this Order was subjected to the most remarkable casualties in the eighteenth century, and with and beside it the papacy was also exposed to severe fluctuations.

We will now speak briefly of these general casualties of Catholicism, and also look at those inner transformations of Catholic theology, particularly in Germany. We must go back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. At this time we find Jesuitism struggling in France with Jansenism, the former defending papal interests, and the latter, evangelical. The controversy acquired new importance by the appearance of a devotional work, which was highly prized by the Jansenists. It was a New Testament, with explanatory notes, written in a strongly evangelical sense in favor of the doctrine of justification by faith and opposed to the merit of good works. The author, Pasquier Quesnel, was a Jansenist, who, having been driven from France, resided in the Netherlands. The reigning pope, Clement XI., condemned in 1713, by an official bull, one hundred and one of his propositions as heretical, dangerous, and offensive to pious ears. Yet among the condemned passages there were not only those which stand literally in the Holy Scriptures, but also in the Church Fathers, and especially in St. Augustine.

This action offended a great portion of the French clergy, and even the Archbishop of Paris, Cardinal Noailles, opposed the reception of the bull. Those who did so were called Appellants. They struggled a long time with the court, which, less from conviction than from policy, stood on the side of the pope. When Louis XV. ascended the throne, the bull was forcibly executed, but attended with significant events. One of the Appellants, a Parisian deacon, who afterward bore the name of St. Francis of Paris, had defended himself even to death in behalf of Jansenism, and was buried in the cemetery of St. Medardus. Multitudes thronged to his grave, where miracles were supposed to occur, and where, as the story goes, all who lay on it were healed of severe disease. The Archbishop of Sens declared in vain that these miracles were a delusion; the people decided in favor of the saint and his miracles. Similar phenomena to those we observed in Methodism also took place here, and when the king was finally compelled to close the cemetery, the ecstasies of the convulsionists continued in the private houses. Only after some time did the affair subside, and, as Voltaire said, the grave of St. Francis of Paris became the grave of Jansenism, for henceforth the whole ecclesiastical authority lost its importance.

The Jesuits left this field as conquerors, but a great repulse still lay before them. While they could not be conquered by religious knowledge, as embodied in Jansenism, their temporal power, after it had reached its climax, was soon met by a determined adversary in another temporal power. On the banks of the Paraguay and Uruguay, in South America, a Jesuitical state had been publicly organized, in which the Order exercised unlimited sway. All the approaches were obstructed by fortifications, erected by the Order. But when, by a treaty between Portugal and Spain in 1750, a part of Paraguay was ceded to Portugal, the Indians refused (1753) the entrance of the Portuguese. The Jesuits were considered the instigators of the trouble, and the Portuguese Minister, Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal,¹ determined to suppress them.

¹ On this remarkable character, who opposed the despotism of the

As a murderous attack upon the life of King Joseph of Portugal awakened the suspicion that the Order was accessory to the crime, a formal charge of high treason was preferred against it, and by a decree of the 3rd of September, 1759, the Order was abolished in Portugal, and its members were required to leave the land under the penalty of physical torture and fines.¹ Their return was prohibited on penalty of death. Thus the Order received an electric shock, whose effects lasted long.

In France, the fall of the mercantile house of La Valette on the island of Martinique drew after it the fall of the Order, since the Jesuits, in spite of a papal prohibition of Benedict XIV., which prohibited their engaging in commerce, had indulged in speculations, for the unhappy results of which they were held strictly responsible. The Order vainly proposed to its creditors masses for the soul, instead of money. Parliament made requisition for the Jesuit constitution and its modifications; but as it was refused, the Order was pronounced a dangerous association to the state, and was therefore abolished, in March, 1764. This occurred in spite of a bull of Pope Clement XIII., dated January, 1765, in which the sanctity of the Order was pronounced. The Jesuits were banished from Spain and Naples, and from all places where the Bourbons were in authority. The Bourbons were shrewd enough to induce the successor of Clement XIII., the skeptical Ganganelli, Pope Clement XIV., to abrogate, after much delay, even the Order itself in all its forms, by the famous bull *Dominus ac redemptor noster*, of the year 1773. The appearance of this pope, and his decided action toward the

Jesuits by his own, and whose labors were somewhat reformatory, in a certain sense, see Schlosser, *History of the 18th Century*, Vol. IV. pp. 213, 216—262.

¹ Schlosser says (Vol. IV. p. 241): "On the 13th of September one hundred and thirteen priests, all belonging to the Order (of Jesuits), and many of them old and estimable men, were forced on board a Ragusan ship, and subjected to all the inconveniences of a difficult voyage, and even to a want of the common necessities of life, before being at last landed in Civita Vecchia, in a state of destitution."

Jesuits, is important in the history of Catholic Protestantism. It is curious to see how the transforming and reformatory pressure of the times, which affected even the Catholic church, reached the head of the hierarchy; and thus the name of a pope must also appear in the catalogue of illuminists.

Antonio Ganganelli was the son of a physician. His early education was conducted by the Franciscans, and great hopes were placed upon him. He had acquired great honor under Benedict XIV., and Clement XIII. presented him with the cardinal's hat. He was elevated to the chair of St. Peter on the 19th of May, 1769, after the opponents of Jesuitism had been assured of his sympathy with them. Though the papal system since the days of Gregory VII. had aimed to pull down other temporal authority, Ganganelli understood his times, and adhered to the principle of standing on a good footing with sovereigns. He concluded a peace wherever it had been interrupted, and, in order to give no further offence to Protestants, forbade the custom of reading on Green Thursday the passage in the communion service condemnatory of all heretics. But he felt the danger of abolishing the Order of Jesuits; when he signed the bull for this purpose, he signed his own death-warrant, for very soon after he was afflicted by a weakness in his limbs, which was ascribed to Jesuitical poison. He died on the 22nd of September, 1774.¹

If we look with that candor which befits the historian, at the efforts of the Portuguese minister and the Bourbon courts to suppress the Jesuits, the result seems to us a great progress; but our joy at the triumph would be more unmixed if we did not have to confess that violence had much to do with the persecution of the Order, and that one kind of despotism was only substituted for another. Moreover, a remarkable proof of the different methods of procedure to which the ideas of tolerance prevalent in the century would lead, is furnished in the fact that Frederick the Great, who stood at the head of illuminism, gave the Jesuits, who had everywhere been driven from Catholic countries, an asylum in Silesia, on condition of their quiet life and laying off the cloak of the

¹ Compare the official documents, since published by Theiner.

Order. In Russia, from which they had been formerly exiled, they also found protection, for Catharine II. admitted them to the Polish provinces. Yet in Catholic countries, especially in Bavaria, the influence of the Order was exerted by the Jesuits, who knew how to insinuate themselves everywhere, and work all the more dangerously under an assumed name. We now see the struggle pass over from the political to the intellectual department, and Germany became in the present instance, as it had been in the Protestant world, the scene of the conflict.¹

Even in Germany the Jesuits had exercised an important influence. Public instruction was almost wholly in their hands, and German courts, like that of Vienna in the time of Maria Theresa, and those of the Palatinate and Bavaria, were completely beleaguered by them. But about the same time that politics in Southern Europe opposed the Jesuits, the day began to dawn in Catholic Germany, first in science, then in ecclesiastical law, and afterward in the relation of the German Catholic church and its clergy to Rome. The voices which had been heard before the Reformation in favor of increased independence, now came from the side of the Catholic clergy. A prelate of high rank, the Archbishop of Treves, John Nicholas von Hontheim, had published, when Clement XIII. was the ruling pope (1765), a work under the assumed name of Justinus Febronius,² in which he asserted the old popular rights of the bishops against the papal chair, and demanded the return of German Catholic ecclesiasticism as it existed before the time of the Council of Trent. The book was despised by the friends of the Romish hierarchy, and especially by the Jesuits,

¹ Schlosser says correctly (Vol. IV. p. 446), that "the abolition of the Order of the Jesuits, the account of whose expulsion from Portugal and from those countries ruled by the house of Bourbon has been already related in the earlier part of this history, seems to me to belong especially to German history, because it was the means of opening a way for the entrance of the spirit of the eighteenth century into Germany, and even into the most Catholic portions of the empire."

² See, for the title of the work, and further literary information, Schlosser, Vol. IV. p. 449.

and its author was compelled finally to retract, though the retraction extorted from the old man had no power to destroy the impression made by the book in the whole Catholic world. Also in the remaining branches of theological science the neighboring Protestant countries furnished points of connection for what passed under the name of illuminism, and young Catholic clergymen earnestly desired to become acquainted with it.¹

Some endeavored to influence the youth by better textbooks and a more liberal method, and even the results of Protestant criticism were borne from Göttingen to Mayence. But timely efforts were made to prevent these movements.² As the friends of illuminism did not dare to declare themselves, they had no other resort than to remain in obscurity, like their opponents, and to found an order which should have much of the exterior character of the Order of Jesuits, but should secretly entertain a deadly hostility to it. This was the much discussed Order of Illuminati, whose founder was Adam Weishaupt, formerly a Jesuit student, and afterward Professor of Law at Ingolstadt (1776—1785). It is not necessary to speak of the dark ramifications of this Order, its relations to the Freemasons, or of its final fate.³ We only call attention to the wonderful mixture of skepticism and mystery in that period; for about the same time, while some in the Catholic church were undermining its principles, others attracted attention by alleged miracles, and drew even Prot-

¹ Read, e. g., what Herder (*Lebensbeschreibung*, Vol. I. p. 32), writes (Aug., 1788) to his wife from Bamberg, concerning the confusion in the Catholic heads, all of whom declared themselves illuminated, and yet would adhere to Christian Catholic doctrine.

² Isenbiehl, a Catholic priest and professor, was imprisoned for denying that Isaiah vii. 14 has reference to Christ, and was only restored to favor after he had recalled his book, which had been condemned by a papal bull. A young jurist, Steinbühler, was arrested in Salzburg for some humorous remarks on Catholic ceremonies, and was condemned to death as a blasphemer; and though the sentence was not executed, he died in consequence of ill treatment.

³ Compare the *Apologie der Illuminaten*, Frankfort and Leipzig, 1786, and Schlosser, Vol. IV. pp. 463 f, 473 ff.

estants within their magic circle. We will only mention Father Gassner, of Ellwangen—leaving out Mesmer, Cagliostro, and others—who, with his exorcism of evil spirits, declared himself a worker of miracles, and even gained Lavater to his side.

With Catholicism, as with Protestantism, the most various shades of religious life can now be found in harmony and now in conflict. Together with freedom of thought, which is not so decided in the Romish as in the Protestant church, and which was therefore compelled to assume the veil of secrecy, there also arose among the Catholics a mystical tendency, which, proceeding from a free and peculiar impulse, similar to Stilling, Claudius, and Lavater in the Protestant church, directed its effort to the pious sentiment, and, by resting on a basis of inner piety, aimed to remove frigid orthodoxy and a one-sided skepticism. We might name as its chief champion the noble Michael Sailer,¹ the friend of Lavater.

Yet before we trace these theological tendencies further, we must speak of the ruler who, in a certain sense, was to Catholic Germany what Frederick II. was to Protestant. Joseph II. had shared the regency with his mother Maria Theresa from the year 1765; but after 1780 we find him, as Emperor of Germany, taking great interest in the progress of skepticism. His plan, which his Minister Kaunitz shared with him, was to place the Catholic church of Germany, according to liberal ideas, in a position as independent as possible of Rome, and to introduce into this German Catholic church an enlightened priesthood, which, being removed from Jesuitical and monastic influence, should aim to diffuse a rational religion among the people, and give the youth a higher culture. For this purpose he forbade the publication of all papal ordinances without his consent, dissolved the connection of monastic orders with foreign superiors, closed many of the cloisters, and applied the revenue to the parish schools and seminaries established according to his views. To simplify the public service, he introduced

¹ Schlosser, in his *History of the 18th Century*, casts him, as an ex-Jesuit, into the same heap with knaves and jugglers; but he who confounds the power of prayer with belief in conjuration and secret arts, is unable to appreciate such men as Sailer and Lavater.

German hymns and distributed German Bibles, without the consent of the papal court. In vain did Migazzi, the Archbishop of Vienna, who was at first an opponent but afterward a friend of the Jesuits, strive to influence the emperor to be moderate in his steps.

Pope Pius VI., whom the changed times did not permit to summon heretical sovereigns to the threshold of the Apostolic church, was compelled—since all written attempts had failed—to use the last resort of a journey to Vienna, in the year 1782. An old man, of handsome appearance and form, and, though unhealthy, yet eloquent and gifted with a melodious voice, he was self-sufficient enough to suppose that important results could follow this journey. But he achieved no more than to be treated with great respect, and to leave behind with the people, on whom he had pronounced his blessing, an imposing impression. He did not rescue a single cloister whose downfall had been determined, nor succeed in changing the emperor's mind.¹ But yet Joseph II. could not permanently establish his reforms. We have not time to enter upon a criticism of his reformatory plans, although there is a resemblance between them and Luther's fundamental ideas. But history has already taught us that far too much reform has been attempted on abstract theories, without recognizing the real necessities of the people and the times, and that a well-meant zeal can sometimes degenerate into arbitrary violence.²

¹ The Viennese jested that the pope had read mass in Vienna without a *Credo* for the emperor or a *Gloria* for himself.

² In comparing Joseph II. with Frederick II., we find the foundation of their philosophical and religious perception the same throughout; but Joseph showed himself more Protestant than Frederick, by not wishing merely to think liberally himself, but by allowing his people to be a *people*; he wished to make them happy by reform. His illuminism became his *religiousness*, and it was a matter of his heart and conscience, while with Frederick the Great it was a thing of the understanding. Of course, amiable enthusiasm could degenerate into skeptical fanaticism; limits were assigned to illuminism with the same violence with which it had been propagated. For example, Joseph, with all his tolerance, treated severely the Deists, who adhered to no positive religion. They were compelled, under the penalty of transportation.

The most important event in the German Catholic church during Joseph's reign was the Conference of the German Electors and the Archbishops of Mayence, Treves, Cologne and Salzburg in the Summer of 1786, at the Baths of Ems. Their object was, in spite of the papal nuncio in Munich, to make the episcopal authority independent of Rome. They drew up the so-called Protest of Ems. But this beginning failed, because the bishops preferred to obey the distant authority of Rome than their immediate superiors, and they therefore adhered more tenaciously to the papal chair.

In the same sense in which Joseph had acted, his brother Leopold in Tuscany also proceeded, under the very eye of the pope, and was sustained by Scipio Ricci, the Bishop of Pistoia and Prato. In an ecclesiastical convention at Pistoia, which occurred in the same year as the Conference at Ems (1786), the constitutional principles of the Gallican church were established; and it was also resolved to hold service in the language of the people, to distribute the Holy Scriptures, and to abolish all superfluous ceremonies. Here, too, many bishops were in the opposition, and they had the populace on their side. An organized riot occurred at Prato, and another one at Pistoia. Ricci was compelled to withdraw, and his condition was all the worse after the death of Joseph II., who was succeeded by Leopold. Ricci renounced his office, and the establishment of the reformatory measures was no more to be thought of.¹

While Joseph II. had attempted in vain a reformation of the Catholic church according to the ideas of the eighteenth century, it now seemed that the French Revolution, which

to unite with either the Catholic or some tolerated non-Catholic confession. A further regulation provided, that he who registered himself with the civil authorities as a thorough Deist should receive twenty-four blows or lashes, without a hearing. See Dohm, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. II. p. 279 ff.—Joseph's reforms have found a worthy appreciation in Gelzer's *Protestantische Monatsblätter*, July, 1856.

¹ Comp. the *Memoiren des Scipio von Ricci*, from the French by Von Potter (2 vols. Stuttgart, 1826), and a selection from the work in the *Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, 1820, p. 270 ff.

had meanwhile broken out, would not only put an end to the priesthood and the hierarchy, but to the church itself, in every form. The extreme distress of the Catholic church—whose property was secularized, and whose priests were compelled to swear fidelity to the civil constitution or leave the country—and the final abrogation of the papacy and of the States of the Church, are not to be charged to those principles of the Revolution which, being driven to the wildest radicalism, prevailed during the Reign of Terror. Events had their peculiar concatenation, for the very nation which had once shed the blood of the Huguenots in streams, under the pretext of adherence to Christian faith, now strove to destroy all traces of Christianity, even to the reckoning of time; and even priests, who, under different circumstances, would perhaps have aided in the murder of Protestants, now foreswore their faith through fear of man, and declared that what they had formerly preached was a delusion. In those cemeteries where alleged miracles were once witnessed, there was now read the inscription: Death is an Eternal Sleep. The vilest scoffs of human reason became a theme of theatrical blasphemy. After the existence of God had been wantonly denied, the National Convention, at Robespierre's instance, decreed a belief in a Supreme Being and in the immortality of the soul, and on the 8th of July, 1794, a national festival was celebrated to the Supreme Being in such a way as only Frenchmen can accomplish such work.¹

¹ A description of this insipid comedy is given by Toulangeon, *Histoire de France*, Vol. IV. pp. 349—351. We cannot desist from communicating a part of his description of the Festival of Reason, celebrated in Strasburg in November, 1793. The Minster served as the Temple of Reason, though, in the sense of the Revolution, it had been sixteen centuries a scene of superstition. The frontispiece was inscribed: "*Post tenebras lux.*" In the choir arose a fabulous mountain of light, where the statues of Nature and Freedom confronted each other. At their side were two genii, one of whom trampled on a broken scepter, and the other raised aloft the Fasces of the Republic, encircled with the tri-colored ribbon, while at its feet lay the monster Fanaticism. There were a number of grotesque allegorical figures. At the foot and on the peaks of the mountain, disgusting vermin crept about among daggers and censers.

All that now remained of Catholicism, it was believed, was that faith could be decreed by law, and that Robespierre played the pope. Not until February 1795 was the freedom of religious opinion, and with it religious worship, again allowed. It was now clear that neither Christianity nor Catholicism in its usual forms, had been driven out of the hearts of the people. The masses once more thronged to the churches, especially in the South of France, so that the civil authorities were much concerned lest the old political sympathies for royalty should revive with Catholicism. But Deism also began to seek for a common expression of its sentiments. Though everything Christian had become contemptible to a great majority of Frenchmen, in consequence of the reading of deistical writings, they could not get rid of a belief in eternity. A new religion must come to their aid, and services were established for the benefit of the educated classes. The foundation for it was laid in the year 1796 by five heads of families, who, having declared themselves friends of God and man (Theophilanthropists), convened every week for united prayer, to listen to moral remarks, and to sing hymns in honor of God. Very soon others united with this little society, and in 1797 Reveillere Lepaux stood at its head. The Directory assigned ten parish churches to the rapidly growing association, and the new-fashioned worship soon spread over the provinces.

Now, in what consisted the worship of the Theophilanthro-

Rabbis, with the torn leaves of the Talmud, and Catholic and Protestant clergymen, arose and hurled anathemas against each other. Eulogius Schneider figured as orator. He threw off the priest's robe, and blasphemed Christianity. It is remarkable that, while many Catholic clergymen declared that they had hitherto deceived the people, not a single Protestant, and not even a Rabbi, made such a confession. Indeed, when a Protestant preacher gained the platform in order to bear testimony *in favor* of the Gospel, he was vulgarly abused in the name of reason, and compelled to leave the place with loud hisses. Then an auto-da-fé occurred on the Place of the Revolution, where all the books of the old superstition, probably also the Bible (?), were burnt in the midst of the shouts of the street-boys. Comp. Gieseler, *Geschichte der protestantischen Kirche Frankreichs*, Vol. I. Supplement, p. 323 ff.

pists? Their dogmas were limited to a belief in the immortality of the soul, and in the existence of God, who stood supreme as the exalted geometrician of the great fabric of the universe.¹ These two propositions, which were received in a very abstract sense, formed the staple of the sermons and hymns; all the rest consisted of a very general and inadequate morality, whose chief aim was public utility. A simple altar—whereon flowers and fruits, according to the season, were placed as thank-offerings—and a rostrum for the speaker, were the central points of their worship. The walls were adorned with such inscriptions as the following: "Children, honor your parents and respect your elders;" "Fathers and mothers, instruct your children"; "Husbands and wives, be kind to one another." Instead of the traditional festivals there now occurred those of nature, arranged according to the seasons of the year; in the place of the sacraments there were arbitrary and highly sentimental ceremonies, which took place at the birth of a child, at the reception of new members, at celebrations of marriage, at distributions of prizes to children, and at funerals. It was impossible to avoid Christian ceremonies altogether, although they were deprived of their Christian character. But for this very reason the whole affair assumed a mongrel and disgusting type, and, in consequence of its inward hollowness and outward repulsiveness, was as unable to last as a sound stomach can derive advantage from colored water instead of wine. In five years the glory of the Theophilanthropists ceased, for their public places of meeting were taken from them by the Consulate, in the year 1802.²

A new order of things occurred in Catholicism with Bonaparte's consulship. People were again convinced, as if awakened from a delusion, of the necessity of positively de-

¹ *Culte des Theophilanthropes*, Basle, 1797. No. 1. p. 36.

² It is related that Reveillere Lepaux, having asked one of his friends how to restore his fallen church, received this answer: "Go and have yourself hanged, and revive the third day!" In other words, the root of a positive religion is its divine authentication by history. Where this is wanting, the towering temple tumbles to the earth.

finer religious doctrines and forms; and therefore the Concordat between Bonaparte and Pope Pius VII. was effected, in the year 1801, as a work of political necessity, the consummation of which was produced by the crafty Consalvi.¹ And as times of great necessity and depression have ever drawn individuals down again to the depths of religious life, so, amid the Reign of Terror, was Catholic Mysticism invigorated by the grand recollection of earlier days, and in the person of St. Martin it arose from its ashes with a new and fresh glow. The same writer who has made the life of Zinzendorf a subject of interest to the reading world, Varnhagen von Ense, has preserved for us some valuable memories of this Mystic and his relation to the Duchess of Bourbon, the aunt of Louis Philippe.² He very properly describes this kind of religious feeling as "a beneficent flame, which reveals the brightest treasures in lowly and gloomy places." "It is," says he, "just as all higher spiritual life now is in the Catholic church—half Protestant, though not discarding its Catholic form or assuming a Protestant one." Chateaubriand has exerted less influence than St. Martin, by his work on the Genius of Christianity, a defence of the romantic Catholic type of Christianity, and by his Attila, The Martyrs, and other works, in which the glowing language and declamatory style are more the subjects of our wonder than acuteness and thoroughness of judgment. But Chateaubriand's effort to commend Christianity, particularly on its æsthetic side,

¹ Bonaparte did not act from religious conviction, for, "seldom has a prince looked upon all positive religion with such self-conscious indifference, as something foreign to him, and as mere material and means. He declared himself in favor of Christianity, not because it was of divine character, but because it was useful to restrain men, etc." Ranke, *Histor.-polit. Zeitschrift*, Vol. I. p. 628.—The objects of the emperor are better judged by the author of *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Frankreich*, Vol. I. p. 63, where he associates with his political purposes also that of humanity, to which he subjected his Catholicism. [See article by De Pressensé on *Napoleon's Religious Views and Ecclesiastical Policy*, translated by the translator of this work, and published in *Hours at Home* (New York), April, 1866.]

² *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Vol. V. p. 189.

harmonizes remarkably with some similar efforts of the German Protestants of the Romantic school.¹

The peace concluded between the emperor and the pope did not last long. Napoleon really sought to restore, in the eyes of the people, the old dynasty of the usurped imperial office by permitting himself to be crowned by the Holy Father, in the year 1804; but he so lowered himself as to issue a special catechism for the French youth, which was doctrinally affiliated with the decisions of the Council of Trent, though it sharpened obedience toward the emperor as the fundamental dogma of French faith. But the requirement of this unlimited obedience, which led the pope and the emperor on an old battle-field, produced new difficulties. Political legislation asserted itself against the old traditions of the church on almost all points, particularly in matters of matrimony and divorce, and even the temporal power of the pope became restricted and obscured in many ways by the emperor's plans. When Pius refused to aid the plans of the emperor against Austria and England, he was again treated as an enemy. French troops occupied the States of the Church in February, 1808, disbanded the College of Cardinals and the papal army, and deprived the pope of his temporal authority. And when the pope protested, and made use of his old spiritual weapon—the ban of excommunication—he was convinced of its weakness. However, the personal character of the man appears all the more worthy in history by the fact that, when thousands foreswore or concealed their convictions, he displayed that noble resignation in his confinement at Savona which compelled from his proud enemy the testimony, that he was “a truly good man, an angel of goodness.”²

Napoleon strove in vain to carry out his plans of a national church which should be independent of Rome, and whose center

¹ Comp. the substantial Protestant German opinion of Tzschirner, in his *Briefe eines Deutschen über Gegenstände der Religion und Politik*. Leipzig, 1828. pp. 4, 14 ff.

² See Ranke, *Histor.-polit. Zeitschrift*, 1832, Vol. I. p. 624 ff., where there is an excellent portrait of the man, and on p. 635 an acute parallel between him and the Emperor.

should be Paris, and also to enforce liberalism upon Spain and Portugal. The fanaticism of the Spanish clergy stood as a wall in defence of the church; and the synods of French, Italian, and German bishops, which convened in Paris in 1811, were fruitless. Once more Napoleon sought peace with the pope—who was now in misfortune—and on the 25th of January, 1813, extorted from him the Concordat of Fontainebleau, in which the appointment of bishops was withdrawn from the pope, and his temporal power passed over in silence. The Concordat was published as a law of the emperor. The pope returned to Rome full of sorrow, and after severe inward struggles; but he lived, after having himself been released by Napoleon, to enjoy the triumph of seeing the latter forced upon every side to grant the restoration of the States of the Church. Napoleon's downfall followed immediately. The Catholics, not less than the Protestants from their point of view, recognized in the event the voice of their resurrection.¹

The Restoration under Louis XVIII. reinstated the pope, and reinstalled the Roman Catholic religion as the state religion of France. Even the Jesuits were restored by the bull *Sollicitudo omnium*, of August 7th, 1814, and they insinuated themselves under assumed names into places from which there was every effort to keep them out. As in the Protestant church of Germany there had arisen, side by side with the newly aroused and vigorous life of faith, a bitter spirit of intolerance, so in the Catholic church did the priesthood, which aimed at the attainment of worldly ends more than the honor of God, now reassert itself. But on the other hand, liberalism ignored the deep relations of the soul and the true moral necessities of the nation. And thus France, which had once rejected the Reformation, became after the bloody days of the Revolution a boat plying between skepticism and superstition, in which there were few who knew how to hold the rudder. But why should I treat further this strife of parties? We have already called to mind what Protestantism had to suffer

¹ The two points of view are designated by Tzschirner, in his afore-cited *Briefe eines Deutschen*, published by Krug. Leipz., 1828. (The letters are to Chateaubriand, De la Mennais and Montlosier.)

in its external relations,¹ and there was little prospect of an inner peace for Catholicism.

The July days of 1830 dashed anew the hopes of the hierarchy, and a Lammenais was needful, to use the "Words of a Believer," to elevate to the heavens a political system which, notwithstanding, is more intimately allied to unbelief. Certain remarkable religious phenomena—such as Lacordaire, the preacher of repentance, on the one hand, and the elegant Abbé Chatel on the other—were among the many excitements of the curiosity of the Parisians. St. Simonism was as little able to continue as its elder brother, Theophilanthropism, although it attempted to revive in its new-born son, Communism, and made all the show of a new gospel shedding its blessings on humanity.

Far nearer to our present aim than all these phenomena is the history of recent German Catholicism. Here we again find solid ground; for a more intimate reciprocity exists between the Protestant and Catholics in Germany than in France. German science is the beautiful bond uniting those who adhere to different confessional standpoints. Even bitter opponents are at home in it, and appeal to general principles. Indeed, I affirm that a scientifically educated German Catholic can sooner harmonize with a German Protestant on certain fundamental ideas than a German Protestant can with a French or English brother of the same creed. Protestants and Catholics have been nourished as twin-brothers at the same breast of German philosophy, though each one has assimilated his nourishment differently.

The Catholic and the Protestant theology of Germany have passed through the same stages of development. In the former, side by side with superficial and negative Rationalism (which in the Catholic church was often bolder, though also more concealed), there stood a spiritual Mysticism; and there, too, criticism, idealism and pantheism found their adherents. The same terminology, the same speculative and dialectical expressions, and the same artificial definitions, were used to interpret the decisions of the Council of Trent conformably

¹ Vol. I. pp. 32, 33.

to reason as were employed by Protestants in favor of the *Formula Concordiæ*. But likewise Scriptural research—Biblical criticism and antiquities—which had been rekindled by the Reformation, was diligently pursued by German Catholic scholars,¹ and the Protestant learned from Hug, Jahn, Möhler, and Francis Baader as the Catholic from Schleiermacher, Lücke, and Neander. Mind had to “bounce at mind,” as Luther used to say, though there was something more than mere pugilism. Science was advanced by serious conflict, and although there was sometimes a mixture of passion, as with everything human, there was a reciprocal respect among the better class, and the wild fires of old polemics were quenched.

I will mention some of the best minds of the German Catholic church in so far as they reflected, now in a milder and now in a brighter light, on the history of our evangelical Protestantism. We have already mentioned the name of John Michael Sailer. The son of poor parents, he was born in the Bavarian village of Aresing, near Schrobenhausen, in 1751. At first he studied in Landsberg, Upper Bavaria, and afterward with the Jesuits in Ingolstadt. In the latter city, and subsequently in Landshut, he was of good influence upon the young as an academic teacher, for, in his lectures as well as in his writings, he aimed to influence both their heart and their understanding. He had learnt from Fenelon the secret of all vital theology, and this (which was no empty desire for the marvellous) attracted him to Lavater.² While Lavater was decried as a Catholic at heart, Sailer was pronounced by the bigots of his church a heretic, and seemed to the skeptics on both sides an ignoramus and a fanatic, if not a hypocrite. He had sore vexations, and was even removed from his position; but he was afterward appointed Bishop and Suffragan of Ratisbon, and was finally elevated to the episcopal chair of that place. Even in this high position he entertained, though with requisite shrewdness and circumspection, a liberal regard for other confessions. His works

¹ We would not depreciate the merits of learned men of other nations, as of De Sacy.

² See our Note against Schlosser's opinion, on p. 431.

were read almost more by Protestants than by Catholics,¹ and though fault has been found with their sentimentality, their truly beautiful and kindly spirit is inimitable.

Count Ignatius Henry von Wessenberg was another noble character, who had more sympathy with an æsthetico-spiritual Rationalism than with the Pietism to which Sailer adhered. He is doubly important to us, first as a Christian poet and writer of the general church, who delights us by his clearness, mildness, hearty and temperate piety, deep knowledge of art and vast learning; and, second, as a high ecclesiastical officer, who occupies a reformatory position within his own religious communion, by virtue of his conduct toward Rome and his labors in an important part of the Catholic church of Germany and of Switzerland.

This is perhaps the most opportune place to speak briefly of our domestic ecclesiastical relations.² Catholic Switzerland had been divided before the Reformation into different bishoprics, which stood in metropolitan connection with German, French and Italian archbishoprics.³ But soon after the ecclesiastical separation, the popes sought, by the appointment of a settled nuncio, to unite the Swiss Catholic church more closely with Rome, a measure which the cantonal government opposed on different occasions.⁴ But after the second half of the eighteenth century, the more liberal views of church government which had been disseminated by Justin Febronius, and had acquired supremacy under the government of Joseph II., now found favor in Switzerland. Even at the beginning of the present

¹ Schlosser, Vol. IV. pp. 472, 475. A Biography of Sailer, as well as of Lavater, has since been published by Bodemann. 1856.

² For further particulars, see Ludwig Snell, *Pragmatische Erzählung der neuern kirchlichen Veränderungen*, etc. Sursee, 1833.—On Wessenberg himself, see the *Denkschrift über das Verfahren des römischen Hofes*, etc. Karlsruhe, 1818.

³ Coire and Constance with Mayence, Basle and Lausanne with Besançon, Sitten and Como with Milan.

⁴ Thus in the Udligenschwil affair, in the year 1725, when the Council of Lucerne removed a disobedient priest (Andermatt of Udligenschwil), and in spite of the remonstrance of the papal ambassador, Passionei, and of threats of excommunication, persisted in its resolution.

century there still sat in the episcopal chair of Constance (though he resided at Ratisbon), the enlightened Charles Theodore von Dalberg, Primate of the Rhenish Confederation, a man who, by his liberal support of the classic poets and artists of the nation belonging to both confessions, and by his own contributions to science, occupies a high position in the history of literature. In the approaching weakness of his old age, he expressed the wish that he might be succeeded by his Vicar-General, Count Ignatius Henry von Wessenberg. The Chapter and the Grand Duke of Baden united in this wish; but after Dalberg's death, when the Chapter nominated Wessenberg as the Episcopal Vicar, the papal court refused its consent, under the pretext of very weighty reasons (*ob gravissimas causas*).

These weighty reasons appeared in due time. Wessenberg was charged with heresy. His reformatory tendency, which was exhibited in the introduction of German hymns, in the organization of pastoral conferences, and in the more liberal construction of doctrine, of public ceremonies, and of ecclesiastical authority, was obnoxious to Rome,¹ though there was no positive proof of his heresy. He finally determined to go to Rome in person. He reached there on the 18th of July, 1817; and although the Holy Father (according to the testimony of Consalvi) regarded the step of Wessenberg as "a good inclination of his spirit," the visit had no other result than that Rome persisted in her refusal. Even the repugnance to Wessenberg had assumed such a character in Switzerland, that it led to separation from the Bishopric of Constance, in 1814, and the papal party discussed the question of instituting a Swiss national bishopric,—a resort which subsequently, though in a different sense, was fruitlessly attempted by the liberal party at the Baden Conference, 1834. It is well known how seriously the political strifes in Switzerland since 1830 have affected the church, and excited that army of passions which has turned its weapons against its own hearth.

It would be neither instructive nor edifying to pursue this

¹ The latter especially in reference to marriage, and particularly mixed marriages.

subject further, and it is not yet time to take an impartial historical view of it. A battle seems to be at hand, whose issue nobody can foresee. But if we return from these unpleasant views to the noble character of Wessenberg, we find that his theological tendency was not sharply defined. We might compare it to that of the Protestant Niemeyer.¹ We meet with no elaborate doctrinal principle, but with a humane sentiment, pervaded by universal culture, and taking expression by choice in the free form of poetry. In that "sentiment for the divine," as he terms religion in his poem on Religion, many noble Protestant and Catholic spirits sympathize with him; while the explanation of this sentiment, and its deduction from nature, revelation and history, have always awakened controversy, and will ever continue to do it.²

Turning to a more systematic character, we find in the Catholic church George Hermes, who, proceeding from the Kantian-Fichtian point of view, attempted to harmonize the theology of his church with philosophy. So much has been recently said of Hermesianism, even by Protestants, that we must here add a few remarks concerning it.

Hermes (born 1775), like so many talented clergy of the Catholic church,—Sailer, for example,—was descended from a peasant family. His parents were plain country people in the duchy of Münster; and in the city of the same name he received his university education. He very early attracted attention by his acute intellect, which, among other things, was shown in the solution of the most difficult mathematical problems. The rise of the critical philosophy in Germany exercised a powerful influence on his thirsty mind. He believed that by doubt he would first be able to arrive at certitude of judgment in human and divine things, because he would only consider *that* a permanent possession which had passed through this purifying process of examination and

¹ There is the same tendency in Catholicism, as we see in Wessenberg, and previously in Werkmeister, Dereser, Wanker, and others.

² W. has also performed important historical service by his description of the great church-assemblies, although there is here the same indistinctness of ideas which obtains in his work on Fanaticism.

doubt. And he was confident that the orthodox Catholic doctrine, as decreed by the Council of Trent, could stand this test. He would not, like the ordinary Rationalists, nullify and set aside the doctrine of the church, or knowingly pervert it, or adjust and idealize it, but by means of philosophy give to it the true support which could not be withdrawn by true reason. He would not bury the authority of the church, but every Catholic should subject himself to it. He would only show, in the interest of Catholicism, that what was accepted on outward authority had also a firm inward support—an attempt which had been previously made, though in a different way, by the most acute Scholastics. To him, “the skeptical proof is the root and condition of pious faith, just as pious faith is the root and condition of all virtue.”

In the year 1807 Hermes entered on his Professorship of Doctrine in Münster, where his lectures became very attractive because of their clearness; but, owing to his principles on ecclesiastical law, he became involved in a controversy with the brothers Counts von Droste-Vischering, which had its influence on his subsequent life. Being called in 1819 to the newly established University of Bonn, his sphere of labor enlarged, and with it the strife assumed greater proportions. Possibly Hermes defended his system with a confidence bordering on obstinacy and self-sufficiency, and merely got his due when the untenableness of his system and its inconsistency with Catholic orthodoxy were scientifically demonstrated. But the arms of science were not the only ones used against him by his opponents. Hermes, not less than Sailer and Wessenberg, each from his own point of view, incurred the suspicions of his enemies. The more widely Hermesianism spread among the younger theologians, particularly in the Rhenish districts, the more anxious became the hierarchical party, which at last secured a papal brief (on the 26th of September, 1835), in which the principles of Hermes were condemned, though their author had died in 1831.¹

¹ It is remarkable that, shortly before (in December, 1834), the Papal See had condemned a doctrine just the reverse of that of Hermes. While the latter proceeded on a thorough demonstrableness of Catholic dog-

While Hermes regarded departure from doubt as the only safe means of arriving at truth, there were other theologians in the Catholic church of Germany who, with a speculative spirit, took their stand more positively by the formal doctrines, and then aimed to show the truth and permanence of their faith, in opposition to Protestantism. Such a course appeared less dangerous to Rome. Protestantism would by this means be much sooner aroused from its slumber, and called forth into active conflict. We recall John Adam Möhler, who became to the Catholic church what Schleiermacher was to the Protestant, and who appropriated much from Schleiermacher, Schelling and Hegel, and applied it to Catholic purposes. When Professor in the Catholic Faculty at Tübingen, he renewed the old confessional controversy on the principles of the two creeds, by the publication of his *Symbolism* (Mayence, 1832);¹ and by his description of great ecclesiastical characters of the early Catholic church, such as Athanasius and Anselm, he aimed to awaken among the younger Catholic priests a spirit of deeper speculative inquiry in the sphere of faith, and in connection with ecclesiastical fellowship. Whatever vigorous vitality is possessed by the most recent Catholic theological science is due to the labors of this man, who was cut off early in the midst of his work.

It is not our purpose here to describe the labors of writers of similar sentiments.² But in order to adduce a personage

mas, the Catholic Professor Bautain, of Strasburg, maintained that the dogmas cannot be *proved*, but only *believed*. The Bishop of Strasburg charged him before the Papal See, which, being as little desirous of an undemonstrable religion as of one that first had to be proved, condemned him. Comp. on this point, and on Hermesianism, Rheinwald's *Repertorium*, XXXII.—XXXIV.

¹ M. was born in 1796, in the neighborhood of Mergentheim, and died April 12th, 1838, when Professor and Cathedral Deacon in Würzburg, after having rejected many other honorable calls.

² Francis Baader, a distinguished Catholic, born at Munich in 1765, and Professor of Doctrines there, deserves to be mentioned. He originally designed to become a physician, and long devoted himself to the study of natural science. He sought to establish Catholicism speculatively, from the stand-point of Schelling's philosophy, and to reconcile

who, instead of approaching Protestantism in any wise, waged a warfare against it, as well as against the skeptical tendencies within the Catholic church, with vigor and violent passion, yet with acuteness, with German fire and life, I may mention Görres. He is the personification, in the nineteenth century, and in spite of it, of the hierarchical Catholic principles of the Middle Ages. The established, in so far as we consider it the opposite to the progress of Protestantism, is not represented by him, though such representations are not hard to find; but his Catholicism is ever alert, active, arousing, startling, and even revolutionary, like that of Lamennais. These two hot-heads prove, if at all, that the charge brought against Protestantism, that it is revolutionary, is puerile in the presence of such revolutionists as the Romish church has trained at every period. What took the shape of French declamation in Lamennais, was the most vital principle in Görres.

Görres is a child of the Revolution. Born in Coblenz in 1776, he shone while very young as a speaker in Jacobin clubs, and placed himself at the head of the political movements. His inward life was based upon the philosophy of nature; in art he was a Romanticist; he lived and moved in the ideas of the Middle Ages. He indulged his spirit of inquiry even among the myths of the Orient. Though an adherent of the political system of revolutionary France, he was the opponent of everything superficial and frivolous. He was attached to Mysticism, and a German at heart. After he had been of great influence on the political sentiment of Europe by writing a number of years for the Rhenish Mercury, his notorious work, *Germany and the Revolution*, appeared at the time of the Restoration, and brought persecution upon him. While a fugitive, he remained some time in Switzerland, Strasburg, and Frankfort-on-the-Main, and finally, in 1827, he was called as Professor of History to the new University of Munich. Though Görres always manifested strong sympathy

naturalism and spiritualism by returning to the antiquated and lost German wisdom. Günther's philosophy of religion has since created a similar excitement.

with the Revolution, his antipathy to the ecclesiastical Reformation of the sixteenth century was great, and he called it the "second fall of man." In his depreciation of this great historical fact he united with Fr. Schlegel, Adam Müller, and the adherents of the Romantic school. Consequently it was natural that, when the battle on mixed marriages broke out between the King of Prussia and the Archbishop of Cologne, Görres should enter the lists against the temporal Protestant power, which to him was equally odious both by virtue of its worldly and Protestant character.¹

The controversy on mixed marriages, which shook the dioceses in Eastern and Western Prussia, and was communicated to other countries,² is a proof of the change of the times. In the period of illuminism, one can hardly imagine the possibility of such a controversy. But it was deemed an undoubted mark of progress that the choice of a husband was not discussed in a religious light. For the same reason most persons now look on the whole matter as an indication of retrogression. But we must here inquire: What is progress, and what is retrogression? If the step goes beyond indifference, into the deeper and more refined departments of religious life, so that marriage is not only considered a civil transaction but the highest communion of life, based on the most intimate harmony of souls, we must recognize in the question concerning the religious character of marriage that it was a progress. For only where there is unity in the highest and holiest convictions, where there is a communion of faith and prayer between husband and wife, do we find realized the ideal of a Christian marriage as portrayed by the Apostle (Eph. v. 25). But if that which is really an affair of the conscience, of choice, and of volition, be outwardly enforced by legislation, it is a sad confusion of the moral and civil departments; and in this respect we must consider the con-

¹ In his *Athanasius*. Ratisbon, 1838.

² We desist from an elaborate historical account of the controversy. Our readers still remember it as it appeared in the newspapers. Hase gives a survey of it, *Kirchengeschichte*, 6th Ed. pp. 589—591.

troverſy as a ſign of retrogreſſion, in which either paſſionate narrowneſs or ſubtle love of power had a ſhare.

When we compare the preſent bitterness of religious individuals of both confeſſions with the friendly relations that exiſted between them at the time of Lavater and Sailer, we muſt aſk whether we ſhould regret or rejoice over the change? I believe we can do both. Blind paſſion is always to be lamented, how and wherever it ſtarts up, whether on Catholic or Proteſtant ſoil; but ſtill more can we regret the illuſion which, by its hypocriſy, thinks that it deceives God the Eternal Judge by concealing worldly luſts and ſelfiſh ends behind the mask of ſpiritual zeal, or even behind that of liberality. Thus far we muſt regret the change. But we rejoice, on the other hand, that the religious conviction again aſſumes importance in ſtate politics and in the opinions of the individual. The more a complete renunciation of religion becomes the prevalent tone, the more welcome muſt be every energetic expreſſion of piety, where the latter is really a preſent fact. It will alſo be welcome to us in its ſharply defined form, in its corners and edges, which protect it from ruin, and though we would wiſh that, where the higheſt good of man is concerned, Catholics and Proteſtants would unite to ſave the one thing needful, we well underſtand that it is hard to agree on what this one thing is.

But even without this previous underſtanding, much can be gained if the Chriſtian Catholic and the Chriſtian Proteſtant—both from their own points of view—will oppoſe what is unchriſtian and anti-Chriſtian, even at the riſk of being charged by the children of this world with a ſecret underſtanding, with an alliance between Jeſuitiſm and Pietiſm, between Ultramontane and Methodiſtic gloomineſs. What has not been called by theſe names? We do not deny the preſence of extremes, and their poſſible collision, in both caſes. But as we Proteſtants have known how to diſtinguiſh between the merely negative, proteſting and the poſitive form of Proteſtantiſm, between falſe and true orthodoxy, between real Pietiſm and its caricature, ſo can we alſo diſtinguiſh between the extreme Ultramontanism and the Catholicism of Sailer and Wessenberg,

and between the theology of Möhler and Hirscher and the monastic and Jesuitical theology which we still find in abundance in the Catholic world. Only let Catholicism stop bragging of this unity! Where is this boasted unity? Indeed, we wish Catholicism the good fortune of not having such unity (a merely dead form) as it brags of; for wherever a spiritual life arises and takes shape, it assumes most varied forms,—and just this diversity within the Catholic church has preserved it from stagnation and ruin. We do not undertake to decide whether Catholicism will ever be able to exhibit a church without a pope, or without dependence upon him; or whether, as many design, the introduction of clerical marriage and the use of the mass in the German tongue would be associated with the other dogmas and institutions of the church, without convulsing the latter to its lowest foundation; whether there will ever be national Catholic churches in Germany, Switzerland, France, or any other country.¹

¹ Meanwhile an attempt of this kind in the Catholic church has been made in the so-called German Catholicism. The occasion of it is well known. The immoderate enforcement of the reactionary principle, which arose on the exposure of the Holy Coat in Treves by Bishop Arnoldi (from the 18th of August to the 6th of October, 1844), the surprisingly great movement of the masses to this curious sacred object, and the miraculous stories firmly believed by the masses, kindled the zeal of a displaced priest, John Ronge, whose warlike letter to the ecclesiastical authorities at Treves awakened great interest. Simultaneously with this event, we find in the Prussian-Polish town of Schneidemühl the organization of a "Christian-Apostolic-Catholic" congregation by the suspended vicar John Czerski, who, like many before him, would not longer tolerate celibacy. The Breslau congregation gathered around Ronge, after the style of the Schneidemühl congregation, and many others followed their example. There was a unanimous disposition to separate from Rome. The name of German Catholicism came of itself; it should express the national sympathies, and yet declare that the adoption of Protestantism would not be suitable to the times, and would be a measure founded on historical prejudice. The members of the new congregations were less clear in their positive conviction, and it soon became apparent that the two chiefs, Ronge and Czerski, proceeded from fundamentally different religious views; for Ronge yielded more to modern liberalism than did the more Scriptural Czerski. Czerski was not contented when the symbol drawn up chiefly by Ronge's

We do not yet know what will become of our Protestant church; but we may venture to assert that the Catholic church must necessarily begin its reformation with the sixteenth century, and pass through the whole process through which we have gone. We are not afraid of being swallowed up by Catholicism, nor are we disposed to return to it as it is. Yet we must not forget that the Catholic church, (whether it will confess it or not) has derived advantage from the Reformation, and that Protestantism has in many ways helped to purify it. At the same time we frankly confess that our Protestantism has yet to pass through many conflicts, and that meanwhile we shall be greatly benefited by the experiences of our sister church. We have already spoken of individual apostates from Protestantism to Catholicism. During the most recent period, however, not only pious Catholic individuals, such as Gossner and Hennhöfer, but whole congregations, such as that of Mühlhausen, have gone over to the Protestant church.

These isolated phenomena will ever occur. It would be a very mechanical notion to imagine that, in one or the other of these ways, either the Catholics should become Prot-

influence was adopted by the Leipzig Council, in Easter, 1845. A separation occurred, which, in July, 1846, resulted in the positively inclined Schneidemühl Confession. On the other hand, Ronge was lauded on his triumphal marches through Germany as a new Luther, a prophet of the nineteenth century, chiefly by such Catholics and Protestants as had fallen away from their churches and its positive principles, and were seeking to supply many deficiencies by unsettling the masses. Since the *Märzerrungenschaften* (?), of the year 1848, the Ronge fever has cooled off. The negative elements of German Catholicism have united with those of the Friends of Light, and the latest balance shows that the net profits of the association amount to nothing. Comp. the Confession of the German Catholics in Vienna, by Dr. Pauli, in the Autumn of 1848; Pastor Kampe's reflections thereon, in the *Blätter für freies religiöses Leben*, pub. by him and Hofferichter; and Kampe's *Geschichte der religiösen Bewegungen der neuern Zeit*. 8 vols. Leipzig, 1856. We desist from enumerating the multitude of works for and against German Catholicism. The untenableness of the view of Gervinus, who welcomed the phenomenon as a demand of the times, because he regarded it as a progress from Christianity to humanity, has been shown by Schenkel. Comp. *Religiöse Zeitkämpfe*, Addresses XV. and XVI.

estant or Protestants Catholic, so that one would absorb the other. This can never take place. Our notion is simply this: Two powers, the gospel and the church, are given to us both. The church has been established by the gospel, and the gospel shall be preserved, promulgated, and maintained in vigorous life by the church. But time has taught that where the church arrogates absolute authority, the gospel is suffocated and displaced by Romish tyranny. The Reformation of the sixteenth century restored the gospel in its purity, so far as God granted it the privilege. But the Reformation did not set up a church, and yet there are many who ask: "Where is the evangelical church?" "Where are its fixed statutes and forms?" "Where are its visible limits?" "Where are its constitution and its unity?"

True, we cannot point to a perfect church, nor scarcely to the outline and groundwork of one. But should we therefore expect from without what can only be developed from within? We desire an evangelical church, but we can only be aided by what comes from an evangelical spirit, from the spirit of the glad tidings of God's grace in Christ. In opposition to everything not evangelical, we stand steadfastly Protestant, however proudly the claim to the name of Catholic may be arrogated. But in so far as the gospel shall be preached to every creature, we also declare our connection with the catholic church, since it is the community of saints. If the church which has been heretofore exclusively called Catholic, shall drop the epithet *Roman*, it will no longer ask: What does Rome teach?, but will return to the basis of the gospel,¹ and on this ground will be renewed in the Spirit, far better than was the case at Trent, when the Holy Spirit came over sometimes from Rome in mail-bags! It need not make the circuitous journey through the waste deserts of our old Protestant theology in order to be called truly *reformed*. God will shorten the way, and then we shall see

¹ In this sense Martin Boos would be a Catholic. Comp. his *Selbstbiographie*, pub. by Gossner. Leipz., 1836.—The Abbé Helsen of Brussels has given the same admonition to the apostolical Catholic church to turn from the Romish Antichrist to Christ. See *Evang. Kztg.* 1833, No. 101.

whether we have a desire to enter the house that has been thoroughly purified, freed from the popish leaven.

But if, on the other hand, our Protestant church will adhere to the ground which is laid down, it will, with the negative and critical element which it needs, also cultivate the positive one, not one-sidedly, by mere knowledge, but by the culture of pure characters, by energetic working, by true union in faith and love. Thus will God always aid it in escaping from a deformed and declining condition to a love corresponding to the spirit dwelling within it, and the invisible church will always have a more worthy visible expression. In short, the more evangelical the Catholic church becomes, and the more ecclesiastical (*catholic* in the real sense) the evangelical church becomes, the more vigorously will the two strive together, though by a reversed order of development, for the goal of their perfection.¹ But will this happen? Will and can the Catholic church, so far as we are acquainted with it, ever cease to be Roman Catholic? Will it ever give the Bible to the people? On the other hand, has the Protestant church any reasonable hope of a speedy and happy outward formation of its character?

These are questions we cannot answer. We will not absolutely affirm or deny them; least of all can we expect and compel anything by outward force. We cannot even conjecture—to say nothing of deciding—without being lost in millenarian dreams, whether the Catholic church, having become internally evangelical, and the Protestant church, having become outwardly organized, will ever flow together, and thus really represent “one fold and one Shepherd.” Sometimes it seems to be God’s plan to permit both churches to progress side by side, and not so that one is all wheat and the other nothing but weeds, but that each have enough to do to keep down the weeds, whether they spring up on its own soil or are propagated from its neighbor’s garden. But let false zeal be kept as far distant as false submissiveness and indifference!

¹ Excellent intimations on this point are contained in Thiersch’s work: *Vorlesungen über Katholicismus und Protestantismus* (Erlangen, 1846. 2 vols.), all of which, however, we cannot equally endorse.

Never was constant attention to the march of the enemy more necessary than now; never was it more important to know the one whom you can trust. But neither the heat nor the coarse polemics of the olden times, and still less the imitation of what we condemn in our opponent, can accomplish what we wish. We will have no Protestant pope and no Protestant Jesuits, even though by this means we could get rid of the Romish ones. We wish to remain *evangelical* Protestants, firmly established on the Word which Christ and the Apostles have communicated to us as a firm and living Word; but we would also be free from all human authority. So far as we can we would be at peace with all men, and, while we would seek no controversy, we would not avoid one where fidelity to our church demands it; for we hold ourselves ready at any time to give an answer for our faith. Far be it from us to say that the Spirit of God has totally forsaken the old church. Rather, we would rejoice at everything good which quietly matures in it, and which takes its course, if not *through* Rome, at least *in spite of* Rome.¹ Those who are visibly connected with that church, and are more immediately called to understand and interpret its spirit, can say how far this has occurred better than we can. But without enjoying the blessings of others, who rejoice in their possession, let us be ever more joyously conscious that God has a high purpose for our evangelical church, and that He is with it!

We are not disturbed if the prospect be sometimes dark. The view was far more disheartening in the time of the Thirty Years' War and of Charles I. of England, and still more, in another respect, during the French Revolution. But Protestantism has passed through all these storms, and has victoriously raised its head above the powers of superstition. Protestantism, far from again submitting to the yoke of Rome, has communicated new and advantageous impulses to Catholicism, and while a new papacy has striven to rise within

¹ That it does not occur *through* Rome has been clearly proved by the history of the present pope, Pius IX, to the very ones who hailed him as the pope of progress, the pope of the nineteenth century.

our walls, we have always been able to keep free from it. Though Protestantism sprang from the Reformation, it has kept aloof from all revolution; it has given to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's; it has regarded the state and family as divine institutions, and has recognized in them *personality* in all its dignity and rights, and has kept prominently in mind its eternal importance. By this means it has stood far from despotism in every form, from Jesuitical and from demagogical tyranny. Whenever it has strayed from its appointed path, God has brought it back again to a good mind by severe trials, and its rich history is recorded in books, that we may be instructed, strengthened and encouraged whenever necessary. May God still aid it in its more prosperous development!

MOST RECENT HISTORY AND PRESENT STATE OF THE CHURCH IN EUROPE.

BY THE TRANSLATOR.

During the last ten years, the changes in the ecclesiastical life of Europe have been far more important than during any equal space of time since the general disruption produced, directly or indirectly, by the arms of Napoleon I. To read the causes of these changes aright, we must bear in mind the quiet but powerful influence of America in the Old World. Ever since the establishment of the Republic of the United States, the force of the great American example has been marked in every period of European political history, for it has produced and supported in the popular mind a love of free institutions, which, though not without its occasional vagaries, has embraced every possible opportunity to assert itself. Since the success of the United States in suppressing the Southern Rebellion, this influence has been still more decided, while the indications are numerous that it will not decrease either in the immediate or remote future. On the other hand, the unparalleled success of the voluntary principle in the church of the United States has constantly tended to create in Europe a desire for the adoption of the same salutary measure, and has been the indirect cause of the practical efforts tending toward that end. As a proof of this, the European advocates of the Free Church in a Free State have constantly appealed, in the public press, and even in legislative bodies, when they dared to do so, to the American church, whose steady progress is not denied by the most

radical adherents of the State Church system to be largely attributable to the independent and normal relation in which it stands to the general government.

In the adjustment following the two great recent wars on the Continent—the Austrian and French-Italian War of 1859, and the Prussian and Austrian War of 1866—the gains to ecclesiastical and political liberty have been incalculable, while the Spanish Revolution has, in eight days, changed the most despotic and bigoted Catholic country in Europe, excepting the Roman States, into a nation which has signalized its entrance into the family of constitutional governments by granting ecclesiastical freedom and the elective franchise to its subjects. It was only in keeping with the powerful part which America, though adhering to her traditional principle of non-interference in European politics, has played in the Old World, that the United States should be the first of all nations to acknowledge the overthrow of the Bourbon dynasty and the validity of the Provisional Government.

In view of the scene of these wars, and of the successful Spanish Revolution, as well as of the active participants in them, the great religious issues at stake, and the effects thus far realized, the political element predominates in the latest period of the history of the European church. Let us therefore ask: What has been the influence of these great political events on Roman Catholicism? The Austrian and the French-Italian War was concluded by the treaty of Villafranca on the 11th of July, 1859, and as the stipulations did not satisfy the aspiring spirit of the Italians for national unity, the people of the Romagna, of the grand-duchy of Tuscany, and of the duchy of Modena, protested against the restoration of their former rulers, and transferred their allegiance to Victor Emanuel, King of Sardinia. He refused to accept it, and the stipulations of Villafranca were confirmed at Zürich on the 10th of November of the same year. But many important questions were left undecided, and because of the popular uprising conducted by Garibaldi, and Count Cavour's resumption of the premiership, Parma and Modena were annexed to Sardinia. Two months later, the

people of Tuscany and the Aemilian provinces of the Papal States decided by an immense majority in favor of annexation to the kingdom of Sardinia. Insurrection broke out in Sicily, and increased to such proportions that Garibaldi, who led the insurgents, authorized a popular vote on annexation to what was now the kingdom of Italy. The vote was nearly unanimous in favor of it, as was also that of Umbria and the March of Ancona. Thus, on the 7th of November, 1860, a period of less than two years after the outbreak of the war, Victor Emanuel found himself the ruler of 22,000,000 of people, and, after the surrender of Gaeta, of a territory including the whole Italian peninsula save the Papal States and the province of Venice, which last has also become annexed in consequence of the defeat of Austria in the German War of 1866. Ever since then, Pope Pius IX. has been in constant danger of dethronement by the Republicans, and his territory would long ago have become annexed to the kingdom of Italy if he had not been upheld by French soldiers, whom, if we may credit the most recent advices, Napoleon III. has declared his purpose to recall speedily in consequence of the protest of all the great powers.

One of the immediate and natural effects of this great political transformation of Catholic territory in Italy has been to open it to Protestant evangelization. The work has been difficult, as might be expected in a land so long cursed with superstition and ignorance, the invariable concomitants of Romanism. The first effect on the people after their political disenthralment was revulsion toward the faith that had so long blinded them, and consequently an indifference toward all religion. L. de Sanctis says: "The great mass of the people have no faith, for they now despise the traditional belief in Madonnas and saints; they are confronted by only a small number of zealous adherents of the pope."¹ The same writer estimates the number of evangelical Christians in all Italy at only 50,000, but pays a high tribute to their steadfastness and zeal. Missionaries are laboring in Venice, Verona, Mantua,

¹ *Eco della Verita*. New Year's No. 1868.

Milan, Como, Turin, Genoa, Catania, Brescia, Leghorn, Florence, Naples and other places with great success, and Sunday-Schools are in successful operation in many stations.¹ In Turin, especially, the Protestant church is very active, and in the last three years has published and circulated 415,000 books and tracts.

Another very natural effect of the embarrassment and danger to which the papacy has been reduced, is the rise of a Liberal party within the pale of the Roman church itself. The Neo-Catholics, repudiating many abuses of papal authority, called loudly for reform. One of their chief supports was the late Cardinal Andrea, a Jesuit writer commended by the Pope himself, and one of the principal Catholic Italian authors, who openly attacked the temporal power and infallibility of the pope as well as the infallibility of the church itself. He, however, was afterward induced to recall his bold language, and atone for his independence in the pope's presence by a humiliation that deserves to stand beside that of the Emperor Henry IV. of Germany, and was probably induced by similarly selfish motives. The organ of this reformatory party is the *Esaminatore*, edited by Dr. Bianciadi, a man of high official position, and seven priests, three of whom have been suspended for their anti-papal sentiments, while four still retain their position. The *Esaminatore* is regularly sent to and accepted by 600 priests. Certain prominent Italian statesmen are in full sympathy with the movement.

The great ecclesiastical results of the short but decisive German War of 1866, when Austria was defeated by Prussia, was the arrest of the political power of Catholicism in Germany; as events have shown, it has been a great Protestant advance in Austria itself. Von Beust, a Protestant of liberal sentiments, was made Prime Minister of a government which had been a firm advocate of the papacy ever since the death of Joseph II., and which was now driven, by the tone of the Protestants, to preserve its existence by sundering its ami-

¹ For an interesting report of the missionary labors of Protestant churches and societies in Italy, see *Christian Year Book*, pp. 226, 228. London, 1868.

cable relations with the Vatican, and granting concessions in harmony with the spirit of the century. The whole question turned on the celebrated Concordat, a treaty concluded in the year 1855 between the Austrian empire and the papacy, which provided that all the education in Austria be committed to the hands of the priesthood; that every book published be submitted to its censorship; that all matters of marriage shall be in the hands of an ecclesiastical court; that the churches enjoy immunity from taxation; and that the revenue of the state shall be taxed or diminished for the benefit of the church. In the Autumn of 1867, twenty-five bishops, pillars of Catholicism in the empire, met in conclave in Vienna, and, in an address dated September the 28th, 1868, extolled the Concordat as one of the greatest guaranties of progress the world has ever been blessed with, and implored the emperor to secure its further existence beyond the possibility of Protestant interference.

The emperor hardly allowed two weeks to elapse before he sent these functionaries a reply, in which he showed them no mercy whatever, but told them that they, instead of trying to aid him in his work of pacification, had caused him great trouble by issuing their address to the people, and had increased his task of adjusting the confessional difficulties of the empire; that he was the constitutional ruler of his people, and they must understand that he intended to act accordingly. The Protestant leader of the Lower House said in open session, that the emperor's declaration in favor of religious liberty caused joy throughout the land, and that henceforth freedom of conscience and religious peace shall rule in Austria. The Privy Council of Vienna declared against the Bishops' Address, without a dissenting voice. General-Superintendent Schneider boldly said in the Imperial Council that he was a Protestant, and that the Chamber could not expect him to praise the Concordat. A glance at the Protestant Patent, he continued, shows plainly enough that Austria is anxious to put an end to her dark history. Every possible effort has been made to frustrate that Patent, which was granted in 1861; and the Catholics have constantly had their own

way with the education of the people. He closed by saying that the Protestants of Austria shall not be placed upon their death-bed. His remarks were received with loud applause. Muhlfeld then said: "The Concordat must be abrogated—this is the watchword throughout Austria, and in all classes of people! This chain must fall from us, for there is no salvation without it!" These few remarks were received with deafening plaudits. It is gratifying to know that the students stood boldly and immovably on the side of liberty and progress. Some of the Professors in the University of Vienna expressed sympathy for the Concordat, and the students did not hesitate to indicate their favor in the most outspoken manner. When Professor Arndt, who had presented a petition to the government from eighteen Slavonic congregations for the maintainance of the Concordat, appeared in his lecture-room, he was greeted with hisses. Professor Pachmann, of similar views, fared no better.

The students circulated a petition to be presented not only to the parliament, but to the emperor himself. Its spirit may be determined from the following words: "We wish and must say to the members of parliament, the representatives of our people, that the Concordat has been crushing us too. It has been said in the Consistory that science should be confessional, while the best men in the University are cast off by clerical oppression; and those professors who are respected by us have been forbidden to teach, simply because they are Protestants. The attempt has constantly been made to still our thirst for knowledge by giving us the milk-and-water thinking of the priests, and to tie us to the sacred places of science by the apron-strings of ultra-Catholicism. Be assured that we cannot bear the reproach, if, to the shame of our country, our University becomes reduced to the lowest one in Germany. We protest with spirit and energy; and we, the young men of the country, will not rest until, after the common schools are reformed, all the high schools of the country are also reformed." The students of the University of Berlin sent down a cheering message to their Austrian brethren, thanking them for the noble stand they had taken for freedom of

conscience, paying them a high tribute for their courage, and telling them that if they suffered for it in the end, they (the Vienna students) would see that they had active friends in the North, who would aid them in time of need.

On the 25th of May, 1868, the imperial sanction was given to the new laws formally abrogating the Concordat. Henceforth, clerical jurisdiction in matrimonial matters is at an end, and civil courts are to decide according to the civil code. If any priest shall throw obstructions in the way of marriage not founded in the law, the parties can be legally married by the civil authorities. In all cases of separation and divorce, it is likewise the civil law which is to decide. The supreme direction in matters of education is to be exercised by the state, and only the religious education remains in the hands of the clergy of the different confessions. Public schools are open to all, without respect to religion. In mixed marriages, parents may agree about the religion of their children as they please; if there is no such agreement, the sons follow the religion of the father, the daughters that of the mother. Illegitimate children follow that of the mother. After the fourteenth year of age, every one is free to change his religion; only certain formalities are to be observed. The members of one church cannot be forced in any way to contribute to the wants of another, unless such obligation is founded on patronage or private contract. The articles of the law by which apostates from Christianity are disinherited, as well as that by which the attempt to induce a Christian to change his religion is punished as a crime, are abolished. No religious community can refuse a decent burial to persons of another religious confession in places where no burial-ground of that confession exists. No one can be forced to abstain from work during the fête days of a religious confession not his own, but every one is prohibited from interfering with the public worship of any religious body.¹

The reception these new laws met with at the Vatican was bitter in the extreme; the pope, in a special allocution, construed them to be, not only a violation of the Concordat, but

¹ Comp. *Times* (London) Correspondence of May 27, 1868.

a direct attack upon the rights and doctrines of the Romish church. The alarm at the alienation of Austria, the prospective withdrawal of the French troops from Rome, and the absorption of the papal territory by the kingdom of Italy, have caused the pope to call an Œcumenical Council, the first after an interval of three centuries, to take place in the city of Rome on the 8th of December, 1869, the professed object of which is, that "all ills may be removed from civil society; that our august religion and her salutary doctrine may everywhere be quickened by fresh life, and may still further extend their influence; and thus piety, honesty, probity, justice, charity and all the Christian virtues may gather strength and flourish to the great benefit of human society." Even the bishops of the Greek, Armenian and Nestorian churches are invited to attend, and take part in the discussions, but not to vote.

Of the important omission of sovereigns from the invitation, M. Louis Veuillot, editor of the *Univers*, the leading Roman Catholic newspaper in Europe, says: "The bull convoking the Œcumenical Council does not invite sovereigns to sit in that legislative council. The omission has been remarked, and it is indeed remarkable. It implies that there are no longer Catholic crowns—that is to say, that the order in which society has lived for the last thousand years no longer exists. What has been called the 'Middle Ages' has come to an end. June 29th, 1868—the date of the promulgation of the bull 'Æterni Patris'—is the date of its death, of its last sigh. Another era begins. The Church and State are separated in fact, and both recognize it. Thus we can understand why the pope has departed from the precedent of the Council of Trent, and has not summoned the representatives of the temporal authority. What place could they hold, and what part could they play, in a programme of the government of mind and morals? What could they venture to do for the object of the council, for the greater glory of God, for the integrity of faith, for the Christian education of youth—in a word, for the eternal salvation of men?"

The Emperor Francis Joseph II., finding, by the issue of

the War of 1866, the German Confederation broken up, and his empire dispossessed of political preponderance in Germany, took special pains to conciliate his disaffected Hungarian subjects, among whom the Protestants constitute a powerful element, numbering 2,650,000 of the population. It was Hungary which, in the Middle Ages, had limited the encroachments of Mohammedanism on the East, and, since the Reformation, has discharged the double function of arresting the inroads of the Greek church on the one side and of Catholicism on the other, and though signs of deviation from orthodoxy have occasionally appeared, they have encountered energetic and successful resistance. These Hungarian Protestants have promptly seized the opportunity afforded by the adoption of a liberal policy on the part of the government, and have united with great ardor in evangelizing labors. Such associations as Conferences of Preachers, Circles of School Teachers, Young Men's Unions, and others of long standing have been inspired with new life, and are now re-enforced by powerful auxiliaries. The single mission of Pesth, by the aid of its strong organization for Sunday-Schools, missionary labors, tract distribution, and humanitarian effort, is doing a great work. In Transylvania and Hungary there are nineteen depositories for the sale of religious literature.¹

The Calvinists are twice as numerous as the Lutherans, and vie with the latter in the good work of evangelization. The sect of Nazarites, originally only known in the Banant, and in the neighborhood of Szegedin, has spread in the last ten years over the greater part of Hungary. Between the Danube and the Theiss they now number 80,000. The most of their adherents are in the Magyar districts. They are Spiritualists, rejecting the sacraments, approving only the civil marriage, and refusing military service. In order to escape the latter, the parents of the young men or the parishes buy substitutes for them.

The distinguishing feature of the Russo-Greek church is its bitterness toward Romanism. The rupture of the Russian government with the Vatican has been followed by most strenuous

¹ See *Christian Work* for June, 1867.

efforts against Catholic proselytism. Especially has this been the case in the Baltic Provinces, while in Poland no pains are spared to reduce the influence of the Catholic priesthood. In Catholic churches in places where the Polish language, though not spoken by the people, had been pressed upon them, the Russian language has been adopted. An imperial ukase, dated September 16th, 1868, subordinates the direction of the United Greek church, which acknowledges the supremacy of the papacy, to the Ministry of Public Worship. Even in Paris a journal called the *Union Chrétienne*, edited by Dr. Guettée, formerly an extreme Ultramontanist, has been started for promoting the interests of the Greek church. The policy of the government has not been without its effect. In the year 1866 alone there were 55,466 conversions from Catholicism to the Russo-Greek church.

Protestantism, too, has very recently been gaining more strength in Russia than at any previous period. The Germans who located there in the time of the Reformation, laid the foundation for the present Protestant church in that empire. In 1602 there were in Moscow as many as 4000 Germans. These had their church and their schools, and were strengthened by the accession of Protestant Englishmen and Hollanders, who emigrated first to Archangel and afterward to Moscow. There are at present in Moscow two Lutheran congregations, numbering about 8000 members, and a Reformed one of about 1200. In St. Petersburg there are 40,000 Germans, while there are 30,000 of various nationalities, who together constitute the evangelical church. There are altogether 16 churches (10 Lutheran, 4 Reformed, 1 Moravian, and 1 Congregationalist), and, on Sabbath, Protestant service is held in eight different languages. In the interior of Russia it is very difficult for the Protestant clergy to exercise their office, as they have but few members to a large extent of territory. It is a remarkable fact, that the national church rivals the Protestants in the distribution of the Scriptures. In the army and navy the officers are required to give regular instruction to the soldiers, and the first reading-book is the New Testament, or the Four Gospels.

When libraries are formed for the benefit of the people, the Scriptures have a prominent position. The Synod of the Russo-Greek Church is vigorously engaged in printing the Gospels, the New Testament, or Psalms, in Slavonic and modern Russ, which are issued at such cheap rates as to place them within the reach of the poor.

What Catholicism has lost in political influence in Germany by the War of 1866, it has been earnestly striving to more than regain by propagandizing efforts in Prussia, and, indeed, in all the North German Confederation. Bishop Martin of Paderborn, President of the St. Boniface Association, the rival organization of the Gustavus Adolphus Association, of the Protestant Germans, in his Chief Duty of Catholic Germany, calls upon all classes of his co-religionists to concentrate their missionary zeal upon North Germany, and terms the German episcopacy the "native spiritual protector of Germany." However, statistical accounts furnish him cold comfort, for, between 1818 and 1864 the Protestant population of Prussia has increased 83,⁰³⁷ per cent, while the Catholics have only increased 76,⁰⁹⁰ per cent; therefore, a Catholic decrease of 143,000. In January, 1868, the German Catholics, headed by some of their leading functionaries, and under the presidency of Waldbott-Bassenheim, held a convention at Cologne, the German Rome, in which measures of sympathy with the pope in his extremity, and strongly approving of his temporal power, were adopted, and all Catholics were urged to stand fast in the present hour of trial. Professor Walther, of Bonn University, encouraged his auditors by a discussion of the grounds of hope which the German Catholics had, among which he enumerated the following: "That the church is now rising from its sufferings and gaining strength; that in every Catholic breast there is a vital thirst for righteousness; that the justice of the claims of the Catholics have met with the favor of the King of Prussia; and that we have the certainty that God's omnipotent hand is supporting us." Petitions numerously signed have been presented to King William I. for the support of the French occupation of Rome and the temporal power of the pope. The entire province of

the Rhine has been thrown into the movement of looking to Prussia for the relief of the papacy, while contributions have been gathered for the pope, and young men have volunteered for his army. The king has been thought by many far-seeing Protestants too vacillating in his expressions toward his Catholic subjects, who are largely increased by the recent annexations, and whom he has unquestionably seen fit to conciliate by much stronger support than is sufficient to answer the purposes of policy. The organ of the German branch of the Evangelical Alliance says: "Russia is commencing to encroach upon the Lutheran church in the Baltic provinces; the recent ecclesiastical events in England are well known; in France, a little Protestant group is fighting a double foe; Austria, Italy and Spain cannot be held up as model countries of Protestant prosperity; but just in this crisis, without a protest of the evangelical church in the interest of confessional peace, we are admitting a papal nuncio to our door."¹

Turning to the consideration of Protestantism in Germany, the most prominent question, and which has already produced a large amount of literature, and been the principal topic in many of the ecclesiastical conventions for more than two years, is the adjustment of the confessional relations of the new Prussian territory, of which the late kingdom of Hanover is the most important part. The prevailing sentiment of the new Prussians is strongly against amalgamation with the state church, which consists of the Evangelical Union of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions introduced by King Frederick William III. in 1817. The present king ardently desires the adoption of the Union by the new territory, and has recently expressed to a delegation of Hanoverian divines the hope that they would take the lead, but that he would refrain from all compulsion. In the newly annexed countries four consistories, independent of the Evangelical Ecclesiastical Council (therefore, of the Union), exist, standing directly under the supervision of the Ministry of Public Worship. Those in Hanover and Hesse remain as before, while those of Nassau

¹ *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, No. 18, 1868.

and the duchies of the Elbe have been reëstablished. In Hanover an attempt has been made to separate the schools from the church, and to place them under state supervision. The seminaries have already been withdrawn from the ecclesiastical authorities. Many petitions have been presented by the clergy, teachers, congregations and others against any change of relation of the common schools to the church.

In 1863 preparations were made in Frankfort-on-the-Main for the organization of an important association of Protestant ministers and laymen, having the double object of promoting a public sentiment in favor of the separation of church and state and the propagation of a so-called liberal, though really rationalistic, theology, but at whose annual public meetings there should be only general expressions of opinion, while the formal resolutions should be drawn up by private committees. The first regular session of the Protestant Association was held in Eisenach in 1865, the Berlin Union, an association of similar theological tendency, whose organ was the Protestant Church Gazette, having united with it immediately before. Dr. Schenkel, of Heidelberg University, stands at the head of the Association, and, in his General Church Gazette and frequent books, labors with great energy, and thus far with no little success, for its growth. He lays down the following as its principles: "That there must be a church directly rising out of the state church, which shall be perfectly independent; that the clergy must be purified from hierarchical conceit, keeping pace with the culture of the times and following the movement of science; that there must be an end to all clerical fanaticism, especially such as has recently lifted its head against every free expression of opinion in theological and pastoral circles; that there must be true tolerance manifested toward the most different theological and doctrinal tendencies in the church; and that all religious and moral force must have ample room for operation."¹ The third session of the Association occurred in Bremen on the 3rd of June, 1868, when various parts of Germany were represented, mostly by young men, who took

¹ *Der deutsche Protestantenverein*, pp. 35, 36. Wiesbaden, 1868.

active part. Professor Bluntschli discussed the question of the relation of the church to the state, and contended for their divorce. The theological tone of the session may be determined from the following words of Dr. Schenkel: "The Bible has become the paper-pope of Protestants, just as the man in Rome is the pope of the Catholics. The Bible, like every other book, should be subjected to literary criticism. As for taking the Bible as authority, we should only take its spirit, and therefore use it as an inward authority. There is only one general authority, and that is God." The Protestant Association has thus far been successful in absorbing a large amount of latent and detached skeptical sentiment, which has been attracted to it by its theological and political tone. If it shall succeed, directly, in hastening the separation of the unnatural union of state and church, and, indirectly, in arousing the evangelical portion of the church to more active measures against the aggressions of skepticism, it will not have existed in vain. The lamented Rothe was unfortunately induced to unite with the Association, and thus, in his closing months, to exert an influence directly antagonistic to the general tenor of a life spent in evangelical labors. Baumgarten is now the most distinguished orthodox theologian who has united with this body, but his frequent protests have proved clearly enough that he feels ill at ease among his new associates.

This society is only one part of the deplorable picture now presented by the German Protestant church. Many of those who ought to be ministering to the wants of the people are dividing their time and talents between confessional strife, the promulgation of the gospel of culture, and loud misrepresentations of, and warnings against, the labors of the missionary representatives of religious bodies in England and America. It is not surprising that the masses betray sad evidence of this neglect, and that the beer-garden and Sunday-theater are more assiduously visited than the places of worship. The Berlin agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society says: "The district committed to my management comprises, in round numbers, upward of 17,000,000 of in-

habitants. If we take away from these 17,000,000 one third as unripe for the possession and use of the Bible; and suppose that one half of the remainder actually possess a copy—and that is, probably, a much too favorable supposition—there remain upward of 5,500,000 persons requiring to be supplied with Scriptures. And what has been done to meet this lack? The native Bible societies—that is, the Prussian, the Saxon, the Mecklenburg, and the Anhalt—will have circulated, at the outside, some 15,000 or 20,000 copies, say 20,000; and our circulation has been upward of 160,000. In a word, the entire number of Bibles, Testaments, and parts cannot have exceeded 250,000, which, divided among 5,500,000, gives one copy for every twenty-second person, and leaves 5,250,000 in one year without the bread of life, so far as having the bread of life depended on owning a copy of the Scriptures. I do not think my calculation would be very wide of the mark if I were to affirm that there are 8,000,000 persons in my district who ought to have a Bible or Testament and who actually do not possess one.”¹ In the manufacturing districts of which Dresden and Leipzig are centers, not only is the religious indifference appalling, but immorality in its grossest forms prevails. The services on the Sabbath are almost totally neglected, while the rest of the day is occupied by the older people in laboring in the fields, shops or factories, and by the young people in music and dancing in the beer-gardens and restaurants. Theft is a very common offence, and is committed by old and young, male and female. The prisons contain large numbers of boys, and prisoners from eighteen to twenty-four years of age are found to have been in confinement many times before. These persons, on examination, appear to have but little or no knowledge of Scriptural truth, no respect for their parents, and a strong notion that when they were baptized and confirmed their salvation was indubitably secured. The alarming extent of this evil may be accounted for, in a great measure, by the total disregard of parental care and training. The children are neglected, allowed to grow up like weeds, and in due

¹ See 63rd Report of British and Foreign Bible Society, 1867, pp. 69, 70.

time are ready for any crime. Those who are over six years of age are compelled to go into the factories to work, where they are crowded into ill-ventilated rooms, seldom allowed to rest their overtaxed muscles, and compelled to listen from morning until night to the profanity of the operatives. The extent to which prostitution prevails is appalling. In Mecklenburg, which has a population of about 700,000, one child out of every three born in the last fifteen years is illegitimate, and in seventy-nine districts there are only illegitimate children.¹

In Denmark the importance of religious vitality is overlooked amid the bitter strife within the church on the relation of the Free Congregations to the State Church. These societies have taken shape within it, and profess the same faith with it. Strangely enough, they oppose with all their power the introduction of an ecclesiastical constitution and the separation of the state and church. Rasmus Nielsen, Professor of Philosophy, contends that faith and science are irreconcilable ideas, and that therefore all theological science bears in itself a contradiction. Though he made known his views some years ago, the controversy on them broke out afresh in 1867. Bishop Martensen, in his *Faith and Science*, attacks Nielsen's assumptions from the theological standpoint, while Brandes, in his *Dualism in our Latest Philosophy*, opposes from the philosophical side. The Grundtvig party is favorable to Nielsen. Lay preaching, which has of late increased in certain sections, has met with vigorous opposition, and from none more so than from Bishop Martensen. A Danish fanatic by the name of Sommer has collected a little spiritualistic sect in Jutland, somewhat resembling the Quakers, the Plymouth Brethren, and Mennonites. The Catholics have been profiting by the religious apathy of the Protestants, and have recently made many accessions. The authorities of the State Church have been led by their encroachments to forbid Lutheran children entering Catholic schools. Mormonism seems for once to be losing strength, while the Irvingites are gaining ground. The evangelical portion of the church is taking great interest

¹ See Rilling's *Reden an Geistliche*. Leipzig, 1866. pp. 217—246.

in benevolent enterprises, there being a special organization for almost every class needing aid.¹ The conflict on the person of Christ has even reached Iceland. A candidate of theology, Erikson, has been promulgating the sentiments of the Protestant Association of Germany. The preachers, however, of the island, have appeared strongly against him in the journals *Thiodolfur* and *Nordanfari*.

In Holland vulgar Rationalism prevails to an alarming extent, though opposed with great energy by Van Oosterzee, the leading Dutch pulpit orator and commentator. There are signs, however, that it is decreasing. The attendance of students at the University of Leyden, its principal stronghold, is constantly diminishing, while that of Utrecht, where Van Oosterzee and Doedes teach, is thronged with eager inquirers for the truth. The churches of Leyden, presided over by skeptical preachers, are almost vacant, while the evangelical clergy are compelled to supplement theirs by hiring halls. In Belgium, which is largely Catholic, important Protestant missions are in successful operation, and very recently the government has granted them the fullest liberty. The influence of the Catholic clergy on education has been lessened, and in the elementary schools it has been cut off nearly altogether.

French Protestantism is involved in a violent internal strife of parties. On the one hand is the evangelical school, represented by De Pressensé, Guizot, Bersier, and others, and, on the other, by the rationalistic theologians—a school which owes its origin chiefly to the late A. Coquerel, Sr., and stands upon Unitarian grounds. The former triumphed in the annual conferences in the Spring of 1868, and are making rapid progress in some of the southern districts; they have been successful in the Consistories of Tonneies, Rouen, and Bordeaux, while their enemies have triumphed in Havre, Lyons, Nismes, and St. Hippolyte. Rationalism prevails in the Protestant church in Paris, and is greatly promoted by the materialistic influence of French philosophy. Since the death of Comte, the

¹ For an interesting account of these societies, see *Neue Evangelische Kirchenzeitung*, Nr. 7. 1868.

leading Positivists, about fifty in number, have organized themselves into an association, under the presidency of Lafitte, for the dissemination of their system. Positivism, however, is confined chiefly to the cultivated classes, while Proudhonism, which separates the thought of justice from God, is making progress among the middle and lower classes. The evangelical labors connected with the Universal Exposition of 1867 exerted a powerful influence against all these skeptical tendencies, together with Roman Catholicism; 7,000,000 copies of portions of the Holy Scriptures and tracts, and 3,000,000 copies of the Bible and New Testament were sold, while preaching was heard at the Evangelical Hall in many languages by multitudes during the Summer.

Swiss Protestantism is also divided against itself. The type of skepticism is quite gross, and its adherents are using every effort by public lectures in Geneva, Basle, and elsewhere to propagate their opinions. A work by Pastor Vögelin, *The History of Jesus and the Origin of the Christian Church*, may be regarded as a specimen of the class. It contends that whatever is of supernatural character in the Bible is therefore incredible; that the history of Jesus is full of exaggerations of all kinds, and that science is bound to oppose them with its historical instruction; that Jesus was not different from other men, either in nature or origin; that he performed no miracles, and was not at all free from sin; that he never rose from the dead, and is not a mediator between God and man; that his influence arose from the impressions which he derived as a child from nature and from the history of his people; that God forgave his sins, and that he gave up his life willingly to carry out the thought of founding a kingdom of God; that the origin of the resurrection arose from the veneration which his followers had for him; that all religion consists in loving God, and your neighbor as yourself; that the body never rises again, but goes into nonentity, so that the spirit may soar in its pure and uninterrupted progress; that the final judgment only takes place in the conscience of individual men; and that there is no hell, nor any special reward for good works.

Professor Riggerbach, of Basle, stands at the head of the orthodox party, which has lost an invaluable support in the pure, earnest and learned Auberlen.

In all these countries, strong efforts are being made by denominations outside of the established churches for spreading a more evangelical faith among the masses. The Free Church of Scotland is taking the lead in Hungary, while the Baptists and Methodists are most active in Germany and Scandinavia. In Sweden the Baptists number 7418 members and 191 churches, and two years ago founded a theological school. In Germany and Switzerland, together with a mission in Paris, the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States has established a mission, which numbers 72 preachers and a membership of 6338. But all these movements are looked upon with suspicion and aversion by the State churches, and wise measures are embarrassed and pure doctrines misrepresented with a zeal and tact worthy of a better cause.¹ By a late decree, the King of Würtemberg has declared perfect religious liberty to all confessions, so that now all religious bodies in that country stand equal with the State Church before the law.

The state of the Established Church in England is not more hopeful than its sisters on the Continent. The publication of the Essays and Reviews in 1856, followed by the more outspoken skepticism of Colenso, provoked a controversy which has been felt in the furthest colonies of the kingdom. Ritualism sprang up as an agency antagonistic to this Anglicized German Rationalism, and these two tendencies, between which it is hard to decide which is the better, are now powerful in the life and literature of the Anglican church. The Pan-Anglican Synod, consisting of all the prelates of the Anglican communion throughout the world, with the exception of Bishop Colenso, held a meeting in 1867 at Lambeth, by invitation

¹ "No one has any real pleasure in them,—neither our highest ecclesiastical authorities, nor the preachers of the gospel in our churches, nor the Christian associations of the country, have any real pleasure in them" [the Methodists]. Strebel, *Die Methodisten in ihrer Heimath und in der Fremde*, p. 3. Stuttgart, 1868.

of the Archbishop of Canterbury. Seventy-five bishops responded to the call, when a pastoral address was issued in favor of adherence to the canonical Scriptures, and against the growing rationalistic tendencies. Meanwhile, the enlargement of the popular franchise has led the Reform leaders to address themselves to the work of separating Church and State, practically commenced in the House of Commons by the passage, by a large majority, of Gladstone's resolutions for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, though, as might be expected, the resolution was defeated in the House of Lords, a body which possesses merely nominal power, has no popular sympathy or affinities, and never adopts a liberal measure except by enforcement.¹ The bill of Mr. Coleridge for opening the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to all confessions is still pending, and has met with vigorous opposition from the High Church. Dr. Pusey sent an address to the Wesleyan Conference of 1868, in which he invited Wesleyan coöperation against Mr. Coleridge's University Bill, and proposed that, out of the funds of the colleges, provision should be made for those Dissenting bodies wishing to be represented in the university, in a word, that new colleges should be founded out of the revenues of the old ones for the different bodies who hold the faith in our Lord Jesus Christ. The Conference took no action on the letter, but simply acknowledged its reception.

The Presbyterians in England and Scotland, following the example of their American brethren, are progressing rapidly with their plans of union. The three principal bodies are the Established Church, which recognizes the patronage and oversight of the state, and whose clergymen are paid by the

¹ Statistics of the Catholic Church in Ireland: 28 bishops; 3027 clergymen; 2400 chapels—2000 of which have been built since 1800; 300 cloisters, hospitals, colleges, etc.; and 2990 school-houses. This "poor" church pays annually a Peter's pence of 800,000 pounds sterling, besides important contributions for the Propaganda. In 1865 the clerical statistics in Ireland were: 6279 clergyman, of whom 3014 were Roman Catholics, 2265 Anglicans, 677 Presbyterians, 277 Methodists, 85 Independents, 21 Baptists, 1 Jewish, and 25 miscellaneous.

state; the Free Church, which does not refuse the support of the clergy by the state, but vindicates independent congregational rights, and does not reject the oversight of the State; and the United Presbyterians, who will have nothing at all to do with the state, and even reject the state salaries. The more strict party in the Free Church are decidedly opposed to Presbyterian union. A numerous and influential assembly of Presbyterian laymen met in Edinburgh, and declared in favor of the Union of the great Presbyterian bodies. All the Dissenting bodies have taken active part in favor of the Reform measures, and now Wesleyanism has combined with them, though it is to be regretted that it did not add its influence sooner. The Catholics, taking advantage, as they well know how to do, of the internal ecclesiastical and political dissension in Great Britain, have been using every effort to increase their number. If the statements of Archbishop Manning may be relied on, there are, in England alone, 1600 Catholic bishops and priests, 206 convents, 40 to 50 monasteries, and 1300 cathedrals, churches and chapels.

A movement has been made in the Established Church toward union with the Greek Church. The proposed basis is the common doctrines and forms of worship employed by the Roman and Greek churches, and which the English church has only to adopt in form. This would involve the acceptance by the latter of transubstantiation, worship of saints, institution of cloisters, the seven sacraments, purgatory and the like. The great majority of the English bishops are opposed to the agitation. At the head stands Dr. Pusey.

The Spanish Revolution, which occurred in October 1868, was so devised, and presented so bold a front, that it met with but little opposition, and in a few months substituted a Provisional Government for the detested Bourbon dynasty. A glance at the loss of Catholicism in popular sentiment, however, will show that the general revolt against civil and ecclesiastical oppression was not the work of a day, but was prepared by the loss of popular sentiment which Catholicism has sustained in the kingdom during the greater part of the present century. In the eighteenth century there were in the

kingdom 6000 cloisters, and forty years ago there were but 3000. In 1855 there was a great diminution of church property, and the 6000 cloisters had dwindled down to 800. At the end of the last century there were 83,118 monks, 66,687 lay priests, and 2666 inquisitorial officers, among whom are the "familiaris," or clerical spies; while in 1858 there were but 6702 monks, 12,593 nuns, and 43,661 lay priests. In 1861 there were but a little more than 6000 inmates of cloisters, and 39,885 lay priests. This numerical diminution of clerical functionaries betrays unmistakably the gradual relaxation of the hold of Catholicism on the Spanish people, and reveals the fact, that the popular heart had become firmly convinced that religious intolerance was the cause of the innumerable evils of the country.

The strong measures of the Provisional Government against the Jesuits have provoked the bitter wrath not only of the ultra-Catholics in Spain, but throughout Europe. Yet it is an important fact, that this rigid course has been adopted without the violation of a single Spanish law, and, indeed, is only the actual putting into effect of laws disregarded by the Bourbon dynasty. The truth is, that not only in Spain, but in nearly every other European country, Jesuitism has not been legal during any part of the present century and a good portion of the last. By a law of the 3rd of September, 1759, the King of Portugal banished Jesuitism from all his possessions in Europe, America, Africa, and Asia, and attached the penalty of long imprisonment to any attempts for its restoration. On the 6th of August, 1762, the Parliament of Paris, by an almost unanimous vote, passed a law, which the king carried into effect in his "irrevocable" decree of November, 1764, banishing the Jesuits "forever" from all French territory. On the 3rd of November, 1764, the King of the Two Sicilies issued a similar decree for his territory. On the 5th of February, 1768, the Duchy of Parma adopted, almost literally, the Neapolitan decree. On the 22nd of April of the same year, the Grand Master of the Knights of St. John issued a similar law, terming Jesuitism "an infamous and blasphemous abuse of the name of the world's Redeemer."

In April, 1767, Charles III. of Spain issued the Pragmatic Sanction, excluding the Jesuits, "by the power of irrevocable law," from that country and from all its foreign possessions, "once and forever." In Spain this law has never been abrogated or suspended, though under Ferdinand VII. it was not carried into effect.

By a revolution covering a week, the road has now been opened for Protestant evangelization among twenty-two millions of people (including the Spanish colonies), occupying a territory of 308,279 square miles—a fact almost too great for credibility; and yet no sooner was the Provisional Government established than true Protestants on the Continent and in Great Britain gave indubitable evidence that they appreciated the magnitude of their new task. The Spanish Evangelization Society, organized in Edinburgh in 1854, has enlarged its operations; the British and Foreign Bible Society has made its appeal for contributions for the circulation of the Bible in Spain, and has already met with a favorable response. Other European organizations are at work in the same good cause, while the American Bible Society, the American and Foreign Christian Union, the American Tract Society, and the Missionary Society of the American Methodist Episcopal Church, have already adopted active measures for Spanish evangelization. Time alone can tell whether the new government will be a success. Many fear that the Spaniards are not themselves ripe for the great liberal movement of their leaders, and that things may take a turn by which the old Bourbon dynasty shall be restored, or at least by which Catholic intolerance shall again be enthroned. For the present, at all events, every obstacle to missionary labor has been removed, and every evangelizing instrumentality employed cannot fail of good, whatever be the future political condition of the country.

From this sketch, necessarily brief, it will be seen that the greatest difficulties which the Protestant Church of Europe has to encounter in the most recent period of its history, are Roman Catholicism from without and skepticism from within. That she will be able to combat them successfully,

no one who is familiar with her history can doubt for a moment. The growth of Christian unity is already more rapid than ever before, and is constantly on the increase. There are multitudes in the lower classes, notwithstanding the want of true shepherds, who are secretly thirsting for the Word of Life, a fact abundantly illustrated by the remarkable success which has attended the recent missionary efforts in Italy. There is not a university in Protestant Germany where there are not at least a few evangelical professors, who are worthy to take the place of such men as Tholuck, Müller and Dorner, who must soon cease to labor. One of the great wants of German evangelical Protestantism is more earnest labor among the masses, who cannot be won by the scholarly books of professional theologians, but to whom skepticism, in a disguised or outspoken form, is served up in the periodical popular literature, to an extent unparalleled in the present century.¹

Much good may be anticipated from the destruction of the unnatural alliance between the church and state, an event which present indications augur as not very remote; but far more may be expected from the quickening influence of God's Spirit, when the vast theological learning of the Continent shall be sanctified, when the hungering masses shall once more be fed with the Bread of Life, when every orthodox Christian shall welcome to his side any humble worker in the same vineyard of the Lord, and when confessionism shall be regarded a less important matter than the salvation of souls. Not until then will the Church, in all its branches, make that rapid progress warranted at once by the promises of God and by the triumphs illuminating its own matchless history.

¹ The *Gartenlaube*, an illustrated weekly, is the most popular, and one of the most skeptical, publications in Germany, and has a circulation of 255,000 copies. Its articles abound in materialism and attacks on evangelizing movements. It seems to have a special prejudice against the Inner Mission.

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